LAKE DISTRICT HISTORY

COLLINGWOOD
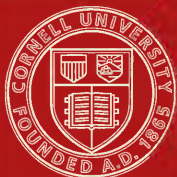
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BY

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PRELIMINARY.

THIS is a little history primer of the English Lakes.
It is written by one who has known them for more
than fifty years and for fully half that time has been
writing and editing papers about the Lake Counties.
In the course of this experience certain points have
emerged:—one, that there is more history than
most people think; two, that a good deal in print is
out of date; three, that since the end of last century
so much light has been thrown upon many subjects
that an *interim* report is justified. Finality nobody
can expect, and a highly detailed story of the Lake
dales would probably be rather tedious; one could
not see the wood for the trees. But a clear view of
the march of events need not be spoilt if we insert
unobtrusive references, here and there, to fuller
accounts. These are to be found chiefly in the
Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland
Antiquarian Society; and hereinafter ' o.s.' will
mean the old series and ' n.s.' the new series of those
volumes (issued for the Society by Titus Wilson and
Son, Kendal). Other authorities will be marked in
plain figures.

As to the scope of this booklet. Taking Dunmail
Raise for a centre and a radius of fifteen miles we can
include all the lakes and most of the fells belonging
to them. A little more is wanted on the south-west,

where Eskdale (which ought to be a lake valley) runs
into the sea; and a little less is wanted on the north-
east to avoid the alien limestone country. Not that
Askham and Bampton are not charming in their way.
Indeed, the rivers of eastern Cumberland, the moors
and dells of Alston and Bewcastle on the north, the
Lune and the Kent in Westmorland, many a pretty
or picturesque village in Cartmel and Furness, Black
Combe and its outlook seaward, all the Cumberland
shore to Carlisle—the city itself a very delightful
place when you see it with the eye of faith—every
part has its history and scenery. But the Lakes are
the Lakes; their special appeal has survived the
enthusiasms of a hundred and fifty years, and there
is nothing so damaging to a reputation as enthusiasm.

So to get into our circumference all we have to
survey, let us shift the centre to Easedale Tarn. Then
we take in what geology has marked out as true Lake
district, still at the present day more or less rural,
and ringed about with a group of towns or townlets—
Penrith, Shap, Kendal, Ulverston, Barrow, Dalton,
Millom, Egremont, Whitehaven, Cockermouth—all
of which lie outside the charmed circle. The geology
and natural history we leave to specialists, the topo-
graphy to the guide-books, and every reader is sure
to have a map.

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LAKE DISTRICT HISTORY.

I.—AGES B.C.

THE Lake district was not always fine scenery.
With its valleys choked, tangled, swampy and
featureless, and the tops of the fells rising grim above
a wilderness of moorland, or foothills thinly covered
with scrub, it must have been discouraging to the
new-comer, and dismal, most of the year, to the
aboriginal resident. Untouched nature is not pictur-
esque landscape, though it may have its good moments.
No more is an urbanized or suburbanized site, though
at dawn and with an access of sentiment " Earth has
not any thing to show more fair." But the aspect of
the Lakes was, when it became famous, the result of
a balance between two blind powers, nature and man,
contrasting their efforts and blending their results.
The perfect balance came about in the eighteenth
century; there is no doubt that Gray the poet and
Turner the painter saw the dales at their best, and if
Wordsworth had been born a century later he could
not have been Wordsworth. It took about seven
hundred years of human effort in the pre-scientific
days to develop that scenery; earlier, for much over
three thousand years, man made very little headway
against nature. In the beginning, when the Stone

Age men came, the only habitable parts were the middle heights, for the valley-bottoms were insanitary as well as uncomfortable. This is not mere inference, for all the pre-historic remains are high on the moors, except one or two which can be explained.

The most noticeable of these remains are stone circles; and there are two sorts of stone circles—some made with very great stones and others with smaller stones. The two types shade off into each other, but the difference is real.

(I)—Great stone circles. Within our district are two notable examples, and another is only ten miles to the north-east. The Keswick "Carles" or Castlerigg circle has been dug into, enough to show that it was not a graveyard (o.s. v, 39; vi, 505). The Swinside circle has been pretty carefully examined; nothing at all was found except what was quite modern—remains of a picnic fire and a Lancaster halfpenny dropped by a visitor a hundred years ago (N.S. ii, 53). "Long Meg and her daughters," to the north-east, has not been properly explored, but there is reason to think that there may have been burials in and near it. One reason is that on Long Meg herself, the outlying pillar, there are ring markings of the type made in the Bronze Age. They are like those on stones of "Little Meg," a circle near by, at Maughanby, which has been dug, and Bronze Age remains were found in the tumulus (N.S. ii, 381). Now on Long Meg the markings have been made after the stone was erected; they are at the height a man can reach from the ground; they probably

KESWICK
The "Carles", Castlerigg

BURNMOOR
The greatest circle

after C.W.Dymond, C.E., F.S.A.

standing ● fallen ○

0 10 20 30 40 50 ft.
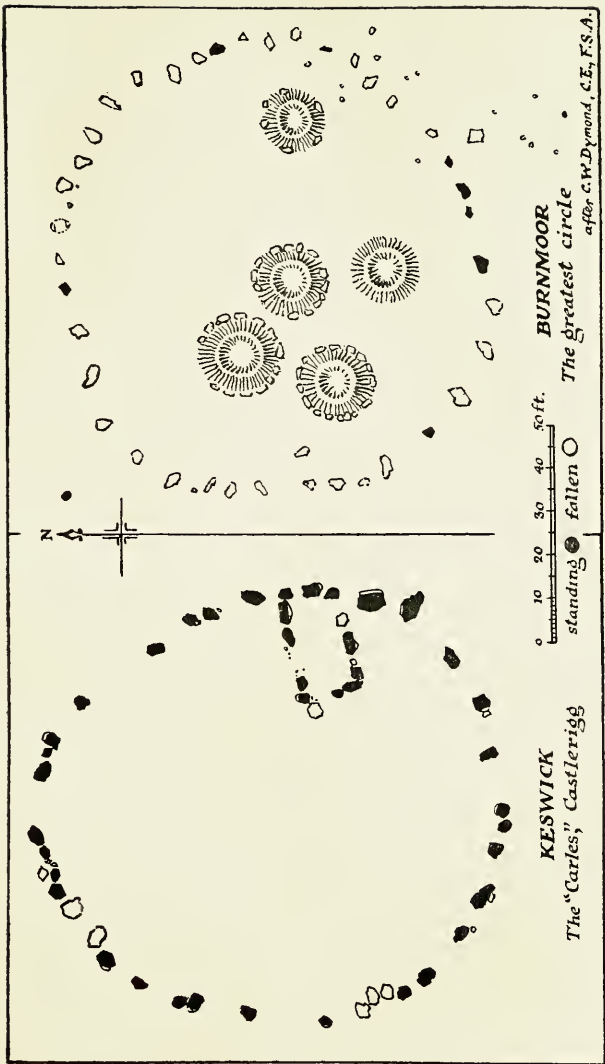
mean that Bronze Age people used the great stone, 14 feet high, to mark a grave which was made after— long after—Meg was set up; but this and some traditions of graves seen 250 years ago within the circle have not been verified by exploration. At any rate these three circles are like other megalithic circles in England of which it is believed that they were made in the Stone Age. A case in point is Avebury, where the surrounding ditch has been dug and found to contain Neolithic relics at its original bottom.

Good archæologists resent being asked for a year B.C. for their finds, and indeed it is only our modern " quantitativitis "—the wish to put a figure to everything for examination purposes—that makes one ask for dates. Relics can be classified into strata, like fossils; but in different parts of the world the same stages of progress have been reached at very different periods. It is commonplace to say that people here in the fells were using stone tools when South of England people had begun to use metal. All history is a ladder of overlaps. Chronology applies to events, not to usages. But roughly speaking, the race which brought us bronze is thought to have arrived in England about 1800 B.C. and must have come to the Lake district later. Still, 1400 B.C. would be rather late for the Keswick Carles, if the circle is Neolithic, though it has been suggested (N.S. xv, 111) that it was meant to be astronomical, and as an instrument to correct the calendar 1400 or so might be its date. We do not know that it was meant in

this way; the evidence is hardly convincing though the arguments adduced are clever. What we can say about the purpose of the great circles is that they were not burial places, for we have not found burials to justify that explanation; nor Druids' places of sacrifice, or we should have found fire hearths in digging; nor Norse doom-rings, for they are not at all like those we know in Iceland; nor cattle-kraals, for they are much too expensive for the situation. They may and must have been tribal meeting-places—religious, political and social, all in one—and perhaps something else besides.

Further traces of the Neolithic folk are found; for example at Sizergh fell (S.E. of our map, p. 12) in a burial mound opened by the late Professor T. McKenny Hughes (N.S. iv, 201). A long barrow near Shap has been noted by Professor J. E. Marr; others near Muncaster were mentioned by the late Mr. C. W. Dymond, but they are not explored. The Giant's Grave near Woodland in Furness was a long barrow, and it was opened about the middle of last century, but the interment, as described, did not bear the marks of Neolithic age. There is much still to be done by skilled excavators, throughout the district.

One well-known and important group of Neolithic remains is on the fringe of the Lake country at Gibb Tarn, Ehenside, where finds have been described (R. D. Darbishire, *Archæologia*, xliv; Parker, *Gosforth District*, chap. v.) showing that the Stone Age people lived hereabouts. They had dug-out canoes, and went

fishing; they had stone celts fixed into handles (at
Gibb Tarn the complete hafted hatchet was found)
and they could cut down trees; flint knives and arrows
and the whole outfit of a noble savage. What is
more, they made some of these tools on the spot, for
at Mossgarth near Portinscale was found the work-
shop of a celt-maker, with four unfinished tools and
a fifth half-polished, and the chippings he had knocked
off, and the cobbles he was going to use (N.S. ii, 418).
This hoard was not far from Derwentwater shore, an
exception to the rule of "high living;" for no doubt
there was a path, here, pushed down to the lake for
fishing. Casual celts have been found also on
Wanthwaite Crag (near Keswick Circle); east of
Mell fell; near Shap; near Swinside Circle; at
Porterthwaite wood in Irton; at Loughrigg tarn;
in the Westmorland Troutbeck, and at High Wray.
Flint arrowheads have been found on the Wastwater
Screes; near Gosforth; at Ulpha, and in the Gilpin
valley. We ought not to include the great numbers
of holed stones for net-sinkers and for stone hammers,
for they—though stone implements—may be later.
But we can conclude that Stone Age man was fairly
at home in the Lake district.

(II) Circles of smaller stones have been dug, and
seem to be in most cases the fences of interments.
Many of these circles, like some at Burnmoor between
Eskdale and Wasdale (O.S. v. 39), are great in area,
but the stones are smaller than, for instance, at
Swinside: and most of them have cairns or tumuli
within them. The distinction between Bronze Age

burials and those of the Early Iron Age is not always easy to make; but in our district enough specimens of objects with Bronze Age characteristics have been found to show that this period is represented.   Near the great group of the cairns and circles on Moordivock (o.s. vi. 180; viii, 323) a bronze palstave was found on Askham fell and a bronze blade in Heltondale.   A little to the west of the Burnmoor group (o.s. v. 39) bronze implements have been found at Santon Bridge and in Bolton Wood.   There was a great tumulus at Woundale, between Ambleside and Troutbeck, and at both Troutbeck and Ambleside many bronze weapons have been discovered (N.S. i, 135; v, 183; Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, 285, 465).   At Redhills and Stainton, just outside our circle on the north-east, interments were dug, and one was covered with a slab bearing Bronze Age markings (o.s. vi, 110); another such slab has been found at Dean, and a Bronze Age burial near Ullock (N.S. xxiii, 34).   On Sizergh fell an urn-burial was attributed to the Bronze Age by Professor T. McKenny Hughes (N.S. iv, 79).

Bronze Spear-head from Linewath, Caldbeck (⅔).

The Banniside circle (N.S. x, 342) may be described as an interesting case of exploration.   It lies, 810 feet above sea, on the moor between Coniston and the Old Man, placed on a promontory running into the

marsh, anciently tarn, which fills the centre of the upland. Before exploration it looked like a ring-mound of about 70 feet diameter, with a hole in the side where somebody had attempted to dig it. When excavated it turned out to be a stone circle formed of a bank or causeway of stones packed together, about 12 feet wide, inside of which was a circle of slabs, once all set up on end but nearly all fallen; and within this was a low tumulus. Near the centre was an urn which held burnt bones, its base 18 inches below the surface; and close to it on the south-east was a burnt place with some fragments of pottery, where no doubt the body had been cremated. Just to the north of the urn was a deposit of bone-ash among which we found two flint scrapers, one unfinished, and a porcelain bead suggesting the cremation of a woman's body. North of that and at a depth of 27 inches was another and larger urn, carefully built round with stones and consequently well preserved. This urn contained burnt bones and a bit of cinder on which the charred remains of a piece of woollen stuff adhered. The fabric had about 23 threads to the inch and must have been a soft and fine, if loosely woven, material; finer than specimens of woollen clothes of the Bronze Age which have been found in Denmark. In this urn was also a small cup containing bone-ash, among which were two little teeth of a child between two and three years old. So far as the adult remains could be judged they seemed to be the remains of a woman. A fragment of a food vessel was lying in the larger urn; its collar had been ornamented with a pattern

BURIAL URN *in situ* AT BANNISIDE CIRCLE.
Phot. by Prof. J. B. Cohen, F.R.S.   To face p. 8.

in dots; no doubt it held the provisions for the journey of that mother and child to the next world. (The relics can be seen in the Coniston Museum and the circle on the moor above the railway station).
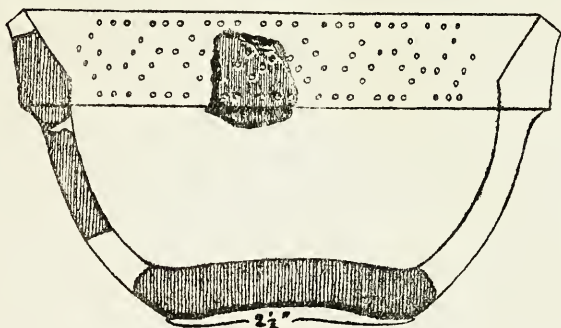
FOOD VESSEL FROM BANNISIDE CIRCLE.

South of this Banniside circle, and still on high ground, are several other places of ancient burials. Traces of one were found by the Rev. R. D. Ellwood, on the top of Hare Crags in a ring-mound 100 feet in diameter with a ditch on either side of the rampart. On Bleaberry Haws, to the west of Hare Crags, are cairns, a ring mound and a small stone circle; one cairn contained a stone cist, interments, flints and pottery and what was taken for a bone tool; the circle had a pavement of cobbles (Mr. H. S. Cowper, o.s. ix, 497). On Hawkshead moor one cairn contained an interment and a flint knife; another showed charcoal but without definite remains of a burial (o.s. ix, 202).

Other sites in the Lake district where tumuli, perhaps burial-mounds, have been noted are on the tops of the mountains—Great Mell fell (N.S. xxiii, 113), Seatallan, Grassmoor, Carling Knot, and just north of the summit of Hindscarth. It is said that on Coniston Old Man there used to be three ancient cairns. All the western edge of our area, from Ennerdale water to Black Combe, swarms with circles and cairns, but we know very little about them. Some have been " howked " long ago by adventurers who expected to find gold and silver in them—and perhaps did. Some have been dug by antiquaries of a past generation, who found what they described too loosely for identification; or by trippers who left no record at all. This, we hope, never can happen again; for these sites are now scheduled as Ancient Monuments under the care of H.M. Inspector, and unauthorised interference with them is punishable. So too is the defacing of stone circles by scratching letters on them; and still more the carrying away of materials for building or road-making from the ramparts or boulders of these relics which, once lost, can never be replaced.

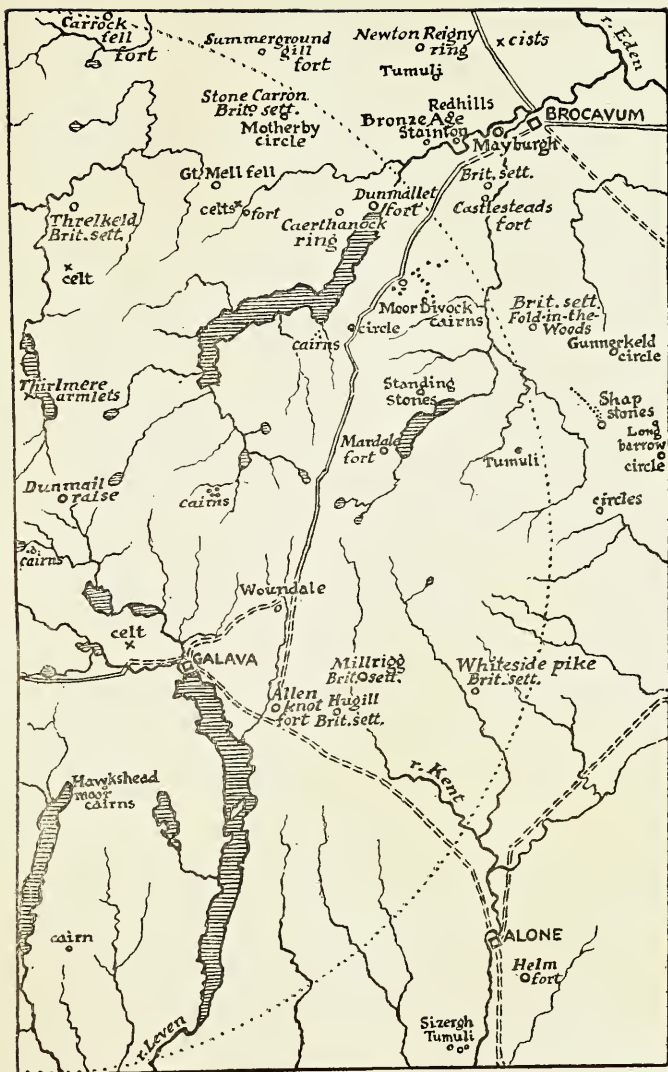Everyone knows Dunmail Raise, the cairn (Norse *hreysi*) somehow traditionally connected with the name of the last Cymric king of Cumberland. When the Manchester waterworks were in progress in 1891 the navvies tried to tidy it up into what they thought was a more seemly shape. The late Canon Rawnsley heard of this too zealous effort, and procured orders to restore the stone-heap to its ancient ruggedness.

But we still don't know whether there is anything inside. Probably there is nothing; for this is the ancient boundary of Cumberland and the cairn may simply have marked the limit of the realm as it was in the tenth century.

The sketch map (p. 12) shows the more important circles and cairns. The dotted curves of course mark the area of the Lake district as described above; The names in Roman lettering are such as we attribute provisionally to the Stone and Bronze Ages, while those in Italics and capitals are British and Roman respectively, to be discussed in the next chapter. At Motherby there was a stone circle; one stone is pointed out as the last remnant of it, though in the 18th century (Clarke, *Survey of the Lakes*, 51) there was a good deal more, and in digging for treasure (which was not found) great quantities of bones were turned up suggesting a burial-place, not a Neolithic " temple." Mayburgh, near Brougham, is a very well-known puzzle: an enormous ring-rampart of cobble-stones enclosing an area in which one great standing stone remains of a number formerly known. King Arthur's Round Table, near Mayburgh, is again a puzzle; a great ditch surrounding a level platform, all in such a crisp state as to suggest something more modern than the Stone and Bronze Ages; this again needs exploration. At Gunnerkeld is a double stone circle of 107 feet diameter, with a tumulus and cist in the centre (o.s. iv, 537; vi, 177). Near Shap are other interment circles; and early antiquaries saw,

Carrock fell fort • • • • • • Summerground gill fort • Newton Reigny ring × cists • r. Eden

Tumuli

Stone Carron Brit° sett. Motherby circle

Redhills Bronze Age Stainton

BROCAVUM

Mayburgh

Gt. Mell fell celts • fort

Dunmallet fort Brit. sett.

Castlesteads fort

Threlkeld Brit. sett.

Caerthanock ring

Brit. sett. Fold-in-the- Woods

× celt

Moor Divock cairns

circle

Gunnerkeld circle

cairns

Standing stones

Shap stones

Thirlmere armlets

Mardale fort

Tumuli

Long barrow circle

Dunmail raise

cairns

circles

cairns

Woundale

celt ×

GALAVA

Millrigg Brit° sett.

Whiteside pike Brit. sett.

Allen knot fort Hugill Brit. sett.

Hawkshead moor cairns

r. Kent

ALONE

Helm fort

cairn

Sizergh Tumuli

r. Leven

or thought they saw, a stone-setting or avenue which led to the megalithic ring partly destroyed by the construction of the railway. North of Haweswater, at Fourstones on Bampton common, are two standing stones, about four feet high (Miss Noble, *Hist. of Bampton*, 16). Two great stones also stand on the top of High Street, in the line of the ancient road over the fells, perhaps landmarks. West of Swinside circle there are sites of minor stone-rings, mostly now destroyed. At Seascale, one stone is left of another circle. South of the Gibb Tarn Neolithic village a great standing stone has been recorded. The Studfold Gate circle averages 100 feet in diameter but recent exploration has proved that it was a place of interment. At Elva plain, west of Cockermouth, is a circle in good preservation, but unexplored; the stones are so sunk in the earth that their size is unknown; the diameter of the ring is again about 100 feet (Dr. W. D. Anderson. N.S. xxiii, 29). The name Elva, Elfhow in 1488, suggests that the place was thought to be haunted; so too was the Banniside circle, and many more, which may mean that they have been regarded traditionally as burial-places.

Now looking again at the map, we might venture upon some general inferences about the pre-historic people of the district.

In late Neolithic times there was a large group of inhabitants in the Keswick valley. There may have been some at Shap, but the evidence is not quite so clear, and there were a few at Sizergh. There was

an important colony in South Cumberland, centring in Swinside, and another at Gibb Tarn. All these are on high ground except the last, which is near the sea, and the Portinscale celt-maker's workshop near the lake; but no Stone Age relics are known in the wilder central dales except a few celts and flints. These only mean that hunters risked themselves up Wastwater Screes, up the Duddon valley, on Loughrigg, and so forth; but they do not seem to have lived there. Indeed these celts and flints may possibly have been in use, and lost where we find them, rather later than the Neolithic Age.

For the Bronze Age we have indications of a considerable population on both sides of the foot of Ullswater, and again traces at Sizergh fell. Ambleside, western High Furness, south Cumberland, and all the foothills and moors of the west were familiar to the people of that period, who have left their marks further up the fells than the Stone Age folk, though they never settled in the heart of the real mountains.

II.—BRITONS AND ROMANS.

NOT very long ago antiquaries were hardly clear about the age of a considerable group of remains which we now can date pretty reasonably to the time of those Britons whom the Romans found and left here. The remains are of two classes—ramparted enclosures containing hut-circles (i.e. ruins of round houses of various size, up to so much as fifty feet across) and entrenched hill-forts (other than the moated mounds of the Normans). By a series of explorations within the Lake District as well as elsewhere it is now possible to give a fuller account of them, though much still remains to be found out.

The sites marked on the Ordnance map as " British settlements," and a few not named on the maps, are generally of the type seen at Urswick Stone Walls and Ewe Close, near Crosby Ravensworth, both outside our circle but near it. At each of these places we found a great round hut, more or less in the centre of the ramparted enclosure. At Ewe Close we dug also smaller huts which must have been dwellings because they had paved floors, fireplaces, and what looked like bedplaces. How the great round huts were roofed we can only guess, but as far as their walls remained they were built of large stones with an inward batter, that is to say as if they were intended to be of the beehive shape of primitive huts

still remaining at such places as Eileachnaiomh in
the Sound of Jura. The main enclosure is always sub-
divided by partition walls or ramparts, apparently as
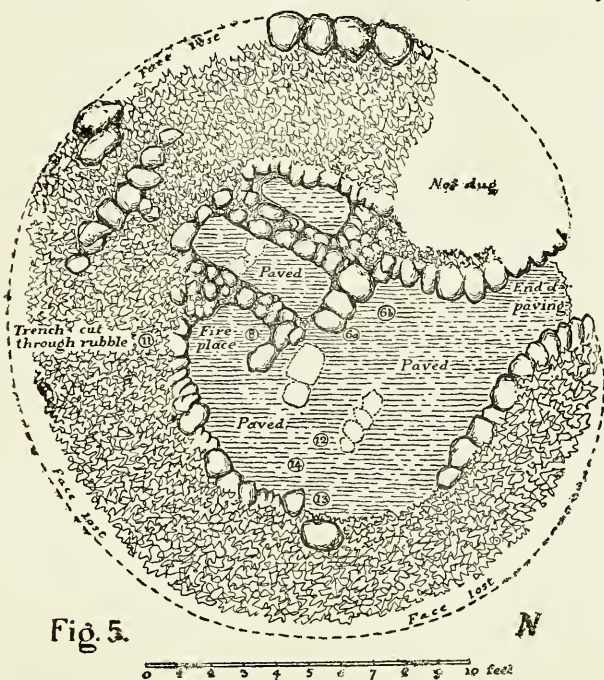folds for cattle and sheep, brought in at night for safety

Fig. 5.

HUT CIRCLE AT EWE CLOSE.
6a and 14, British pottery; 6b, quern; 8, horse tooth; 11, iron rivet;
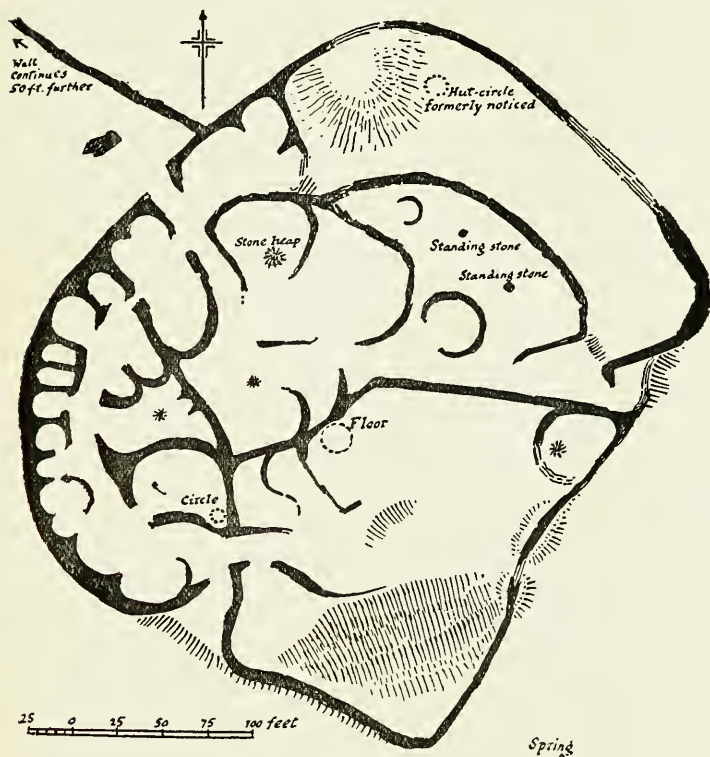12, Roman bowl; 13, bronze fragment.

from the wolves. The gates of these main enclosures
are often pretty strongly built; in the case of Ewe
Close, which was used and perhaps built in the Roman

period, there is an imitation of the gate of a Roman fort, with guardhouses; but planned in curves, not in the straight lines and right angles of the Romans. On this site there were many fragments of Roman and Romano-British pottery as well as querns, fragments of iron and ironstone and bits of bronze ornaments. As it stands close to a Roman road it could hardly mean anything but a small village or a great farmstead of Britons living under the Roman rule, friendly natives, who kept domestic animals and made folds to protect them from wolves, and raised some crops of grain (as perhaps shown by the querns) even at the height of 850 feet above the sea (N.S. viii, 355, and ix, 295).

At Urswick Stone Walls, we found a bit of bronze with a pattern on it, dated by Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A. to the first or even second century B.C. (N.S. vii, 72, 95). Roman pottery and coins as well as querns and later stone implements at this place show that its occupation lasted all through the Roman period. Enclosures with features exactly corresponding to Urswick Stone Walls, but not explored, are near Castlesteads in Yanwath wood; near Whiteside pike on the east of Longsleddale; near Millrigg in Kentmere; near High house in Hugill, and at Lanthwaite Green, Crummock water (N.S. xxiv, 117).* The so called Druid Circle on Knipe Scar is

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* Also, a little outside our circle, at Sealford, near Kirkby Lonsdale (O.S vii, 111), at Castlefield (or Castle hill) near Leck, at Howriggs in Barbon, and at Housesteads, a little S. of Middleton Hall. Plans have been made of Yanwath Castlesteads (O.S. xii, 3) and Millrigg (N.S. i, 180), and Hugill is figured here from a survey in which the author had a share about thirty years ago.

perhaps the footing of the big round hut in the middle of a British site, formerly known as the Fold in the Woods. Stone Carron or Whitbarrow Camp on the

Wall continues 50 ft. further

Hut-circle formerly noticed

Stone heap

Standing stone

Standing stone

Floor
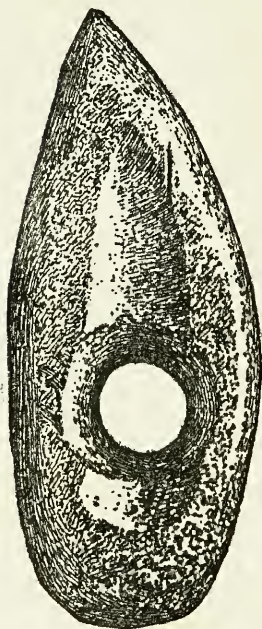
Circle

25   0   15   50   75   100 feet

Spring

BRITISH SITE NEAR HIGH HOUSE, HUGILL.

N.E. of the district, formerly thought to be Roman, is pretty certainly another example but perhaps constructed later in Roman times and laid out in straight

lines, more or less, instead of the curved plan of the natives. Near the deserted farm of Bargate, Loweswater, is the fragment of a group of ramparts in straight lines, looking like a work of this class (N.S. xxiv, 120). Above Torver beck, at the foot of the Coniston Old Man, is a small enclosure, ramparted and with a hut circle ; apparently a minor homestead of this type. There are also ring-ramparts or remains of them at Caerthanock or Maiden-castle on Soulby Fell, at Grizebeck in High Furness, at Gatra and at Dovenby; also the Great Round (N. of Ravenglass) recently pointed out by Miss Fair of Eskdale; and Mr. H. S. Cowper has described (*Archæologia* vol. 53) the enclosures and huts of Heathwaite in High Furness. Above the Threlkeld quarries there are extensive remains, into which some digging was made; nothing much was found except querns, but the

STONE AXE HAMMER,
Chapel Ridding, Windermere,
(9¾ inches in length).

style of the huts suggests a village of the British period, perhaps post-Roman because of the absence of Roman pottery (N.S. ii, 38).

Barnscar, on Birkby fell south of Muncaster, is well known as a moorland covered with British remains. The late Mr. C. W. Dymond, who surveyed the site with great care (O.S. xii, 179), counted about 400 stone-heaps, some of them burial cairns which when sampled yielded " British urns " and " a few fragments of pottery "—the kind unfortunately not stated. What is more, silver coins were found in one of the huts, about the year 1730, again undescribed. But when we remember that both Roman and North-umbrian coins were found at Castlehead near Grange-over-sands, and that Castlehead was obviously a fort of refuge for the inhabitants of Cartmel, we seem to see in both places a suggestion that the natives fled to the uplands or the defensible rock when the Scottish raiders of the 4th century and again when Vikings of the 9th were on the coast.

Now there is another Birkby near Castlehead, anciently *Bretby*, and obviously the Norse *Bretabýr*, Britons' village. Birkby, in which Barnscar lies, was anciently *Bretby* also. Another is near Maryport: two, near Leeds and near Northallerton, were *Bretebi* in Domesday Book. All these must mean the con-tinuance of British population until the Norse came in the 10th century and gave the names.

This may explain the tradition, current in the 18th century, that Barnscar was populated by the lads of Drigg and the lasses of Beckermet, brought there by the " Danes." Put it that, for fear of the Vikings, people from the coastwise villages took refuge on this upland, and the queer, puzzling story is no longer

nonsense.   But the "British settlement" there must
have been started many centuries earlier.

Contemporary with these pastoral and agricultural
villages we must now reckon the hill-forts.   They used
to be classed as merely 'pre-historic,' but the explo-
ration of similar forts in Wales suggested to Mr.
R. G. Collingwood recently to consider the finds at
some of those in our district, and to propose a reason
for their construction (N.S. xxiv, 78).   At the fort of
Peel Wyke, Bassenthwaite, he found a piece of Roman
tooled stone. We had known of Roman pottery
discovered of old on the Castle Crag of Borrowdale,
and fragments of red sandstone, probably from a
Roman source, in the remarkable entrenched rock-
fort at the head of Shoulthwaite gill between
Thirlmere and Derwentwater. On Castle Crag in
Mardale we found no such relics, but stone-built
ramparts and great ditches which class the site with
the series.   Reecastle above Lodore, and the great
stone-built fort on Carrock fell are similar.   The forts
on Allen Knot in the Westmorland Troutbeck, and
at the Fitz near Cockermouth and near Brownrigg
(E. of Gt. Mell fell), are not quite the same in plan,
and have not been properly examined; but may turn
out to be, similarly, British strongholds; it is certain
that they are not of Roman construction.   So the
theory which now holds the field is this:—When the
Scots began to invade these coasts from over the
Irish Sea (Ireland being then 'Scotland') the Roman
soldiers were fortified in their own garrison stations
and their families and followers in the annexes
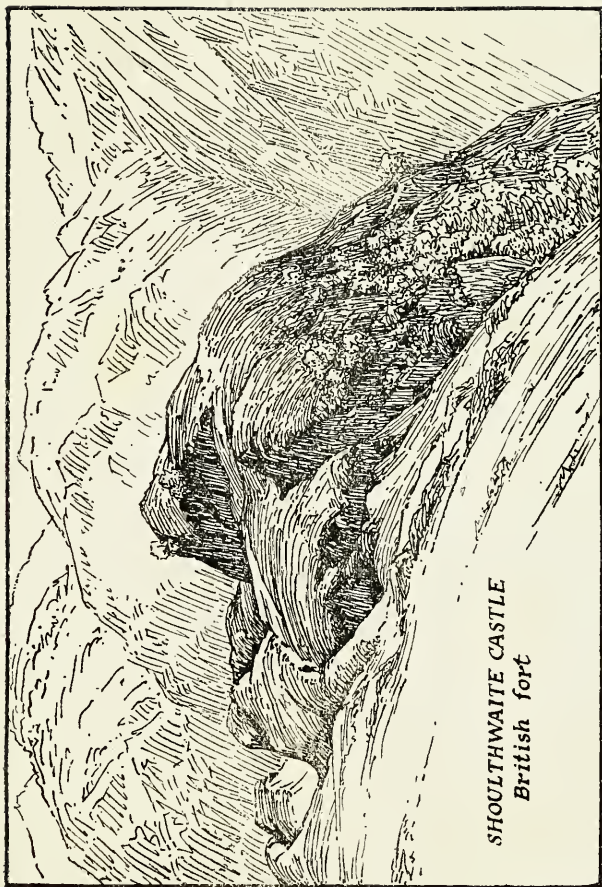
SHOULTHWAITE CASTLE
British fort
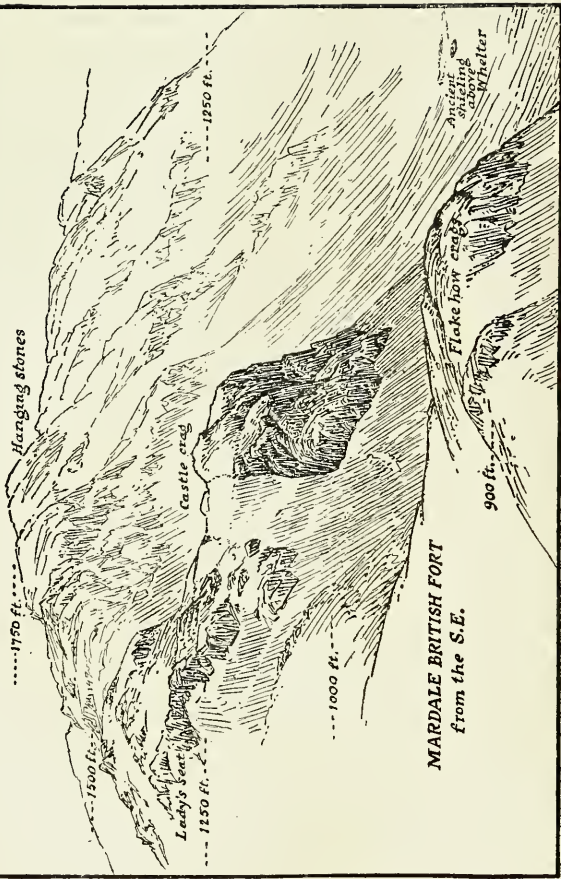
1750 ft.

1250 ft.

Hanging stones

1500 ft.

Castle crag
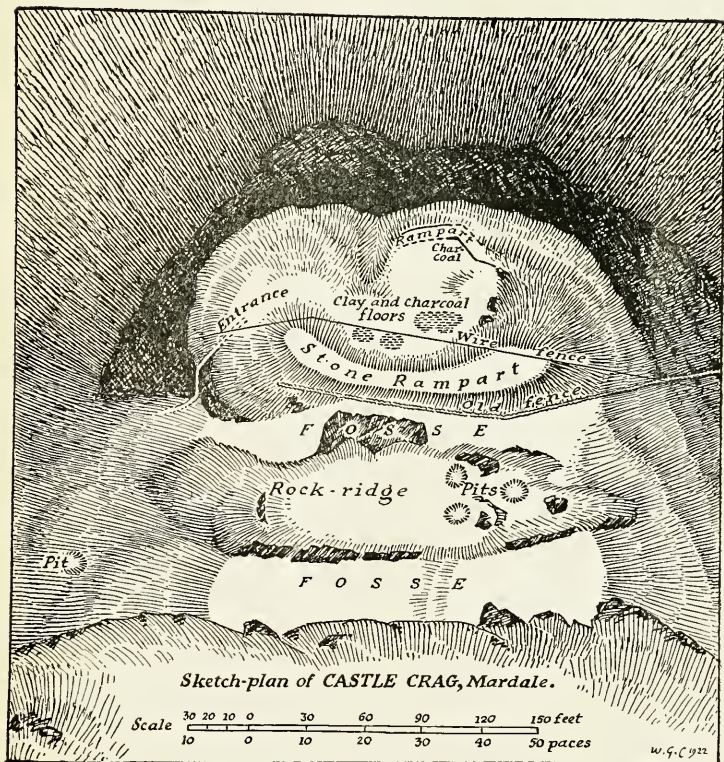
Lady's Seat

1250 ft.

1000 ft.

900 ft.

Ancient shieling above Whelter

Flake how crags

MARDALE BRITISH FORT
from the S.E.

which usually adjoined Roman forts. But the 'friendly' Britons, spread about the country in their

Sketch-plan of CASTLE CRAG, Mardale.

villages, had no place in these military barracks. They built for themselves strongholds of refuge

among the hills, not without Roman suggestion or help, and retired into them until the storm was over. And when the Roman administration came to an end, these forts enabled the population to survive; we have seen that in one case (Castlehead, Grange) there is definite proof of the use of a British stronghold so late as the ninth century.

To this period of British population, pre-Roman, Roman and post-Roman, we may assign the very many stone hammers (p. 20) and implements not of neolithic type, which are found all over the district. A few more valuable relics show the culture of the native Britons, such as the pair of bronze armlets found at the foot of Rough Crag, Thirlmere (now in Keswick Museum) and the wonderful sword from Embleton (now in the British Museum). We know by such works as the fibulae from Brough, Westmorland (in the British Museum) that the natives could produce artistic results in metal and enamelling. In the Lake District they were perhaps less wealthy and content with a rougher life, but we still have to explore more of their sites in the light of modern knowledge.

The Britons then were in possession when a division of Agricola's army came in A.D. 79, entering the fells from Watercrook, below Kendal, where they had made a station. Probably there was already a British road of sorts, but the lines taken by the Roman engineers suggest that in building a military road they sighted from a height in the direction of their next intended stopping-place and ran a straight line

to it. Roman roads found by digging in these parts are made with a foundation of stones, laid flat in two layers and covered with gravel metalling, on the
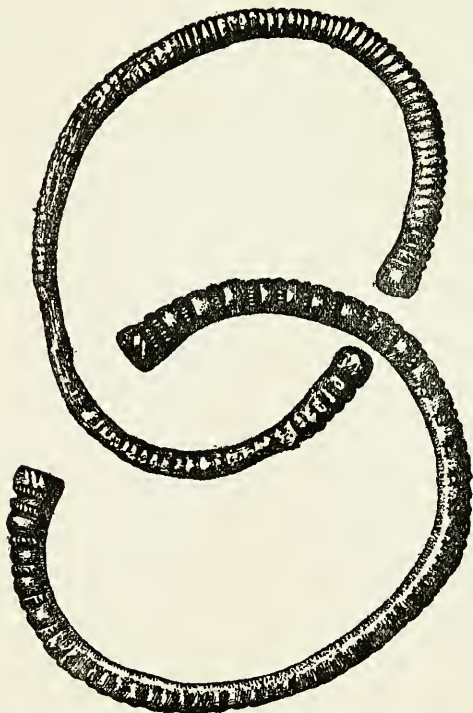
ARMLETS FOUND UNDER ROUGH CRAG, THIRLMERE.

average twelve feet broad, and flanked with ditches about five feet wide to ensure drainage (N.S. xxiv, 113). There are many ancient roads which have been

thought to be Roman, though their construction and plan on the map show that they are later. It seems certain that roads were made by the abbeys in the 12th century, less thoroughly constructed but enough like Roman roads to be mistaken for them; and cobble-paving was common on the steeper pitches of still later packhorse tracks. The course of the military road from Kendal to Ambleside has never been traced with certainty, but probably it ran to Reston, then across the moor to Troutbeck and round the foot of Wansfell to the Waterhead of Windermere.

The fort there in the Borrans field was explored 1913-1920 by Mr. R. G. Collingwood: the main excavations were left open and marked with signboards. The site is vested in the National Trust. Some relics are at the Armitt Library in Ambleside, but the final illustration of this important centre awaits the means of founding and endowing a museum on the spot.

Here the soldiers of Agricola made a fort with earthen ramparts and wooden huts. After a few years it was abandoned, for though the place is pleasant in summer and fair weather, it is low, surrounded with marshes and flooded now and then. After the great rising of natives, which made it necessary for the Romans to take a stronger hold on the country, a new fort was built, shortly after A.D. 120. The whole area was covered some feet deep with clay, to raise the floors. With a stone facing to the new rampart and stone houses, slate-roofed, all
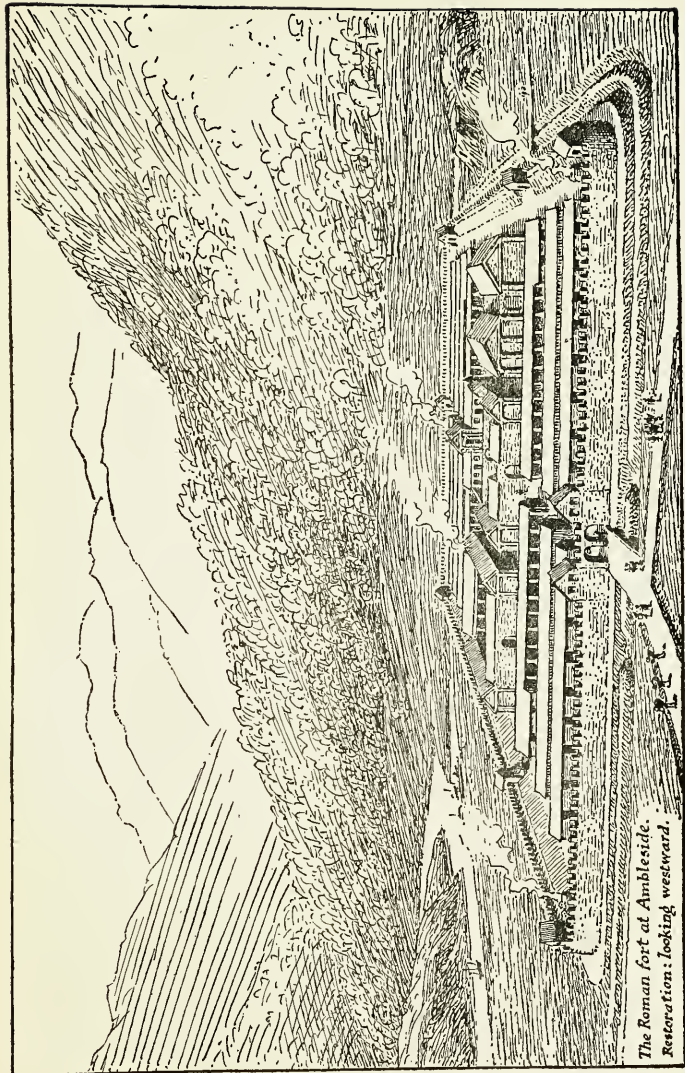
The Roman fort at Ambleside.
Restoration: looking westward.

constructed on the regular pattern of the Hadrianic
forts—and with such thoroughness that freestone for
some parts was brought from as far as Lancaster—
this fort lasted for at least 250 years. That is to say
it lasted, but not without repairs; for in the rebellion
of A.D. 181 and again about 275 there were distur-
bances in which parts, at least, were burnt; and the
traces of the ruin and rebuilding—the three floors—
were the first things we saw in exploration. (For full
descriptions see N.S. xiv, xv, xvi, xxi).

In the 17th century the remains were visible and
many coins, since lost or dispersed, were picked up.
The stones were robbed for building; the carved and
inscribed pieces of freestone (so Clarke said in his
Survey of the Lakes, 1785) , were used to break up for
scouring-sand by the housewives of Ambleside. Only
two inscriptions are recorded and they are lost
(N.S. xiv, 437). But of the relics preserved there are
such things as a bronze bell, a bronze eagle, leather
shoes, a silver spoon, coins of various Roman periods
and a considerable amount of Roman pottery, now
by modern methods datable to within a few years of
its fabrication. If Professor Haverfield was right in
identifying this route over the hills with the tenth
Antonine *Iter*, the Roman name of Ambleside was
GALAVA, and Watercrook was ALONE.

From Ambleside a road may have led up Stock Gill
to join the High Street road, of which later; one has
been found pointing to Rothay bridge, carried on
corduroy over the marshy ground. Then it probably
went to Skelwith bridge, up the hill to the south and

then westwards to the present road where the lane
from the wood comes in: then down to Colwith rather
higher than the modern road, and south of Colwith
force to Stang End and Bridge End (for details
see N.S., xxi, 24-29). Thence it perhaps crossed
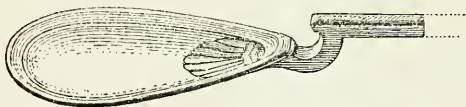
ROMAN SPOON FROM AMBLESIDE.

to Fell Foot and the road still used over Wrynose
practically marks its course; for the level line north
of the beck past Gaitscale is not a road but an old
river-terrace. It crossed above Cockley beck house
and some have thought it ran to Black Hall and up
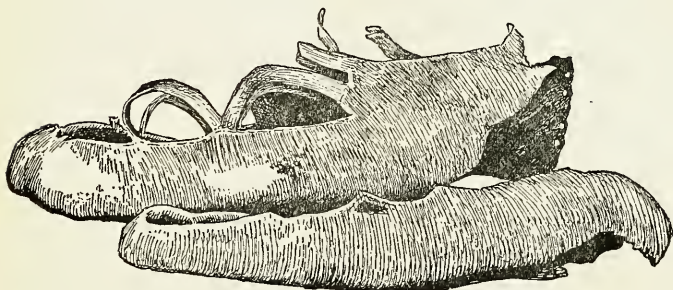
ROMAN SHOES FROM AMBLESIDE,

thence to Hardknot pass, for an ancient road is
traceable along part of that line (N.S. xix, 27). This
in the 13th century was known as the Wainscarth

or waggon-gap, and for old-fashioned horse-carriages
it would be still good, but that its surface has been
destroyed by rain-bursts and spates. Ratepayers who
want to see it made into a motor-road ought to know
it in winter and rough weather, and to reckon the
cost of its upkeep, if ever it were re-constructed.

On the shoulder of Hardknot fell, overlooking all
Eskdale right down to Ravenglass and up to Scafell
and Bowfell, another fort was built when Agricola's
troops were carrying their line through this district.
There was plenty of stone at hand, and red sandstone
was also used, brought up from lower Eskdale; so
that, unlike Ambleside, this fort was in stone from the
beginning. In 1889 exploration was begun and Mr. H.
S. Cowper cleared out the N.E. turret: Sir Herbert
Maxwell followed, digging part of the central building,
and then the whole, together with the bath-house
outside the fort, was examined by a committee
including the late Chancellor Ferguson, the Rev. W.
S. Calverley and Mr. C. W. Dymond (o.s. xii, 375).
From the pottery they found, Mr. R. G. Collingwood
has inferred that Hardknot fort was abandoned as a
garrison station early in the second century A.D. and
not rebuilt under Hadrian (*Archæologia*, vol. 71).
Later, there must have been some small building used
as a rest-house by the road-side, for a few relics date
after Hadrian's time; but its disuse as a fortified post
explains why its name does not appear in the records.

Westwards the road continued to Ravenglass; its
course in detail has not been fixed. On the way it
passed (not necessarily touching) the Roman kiln
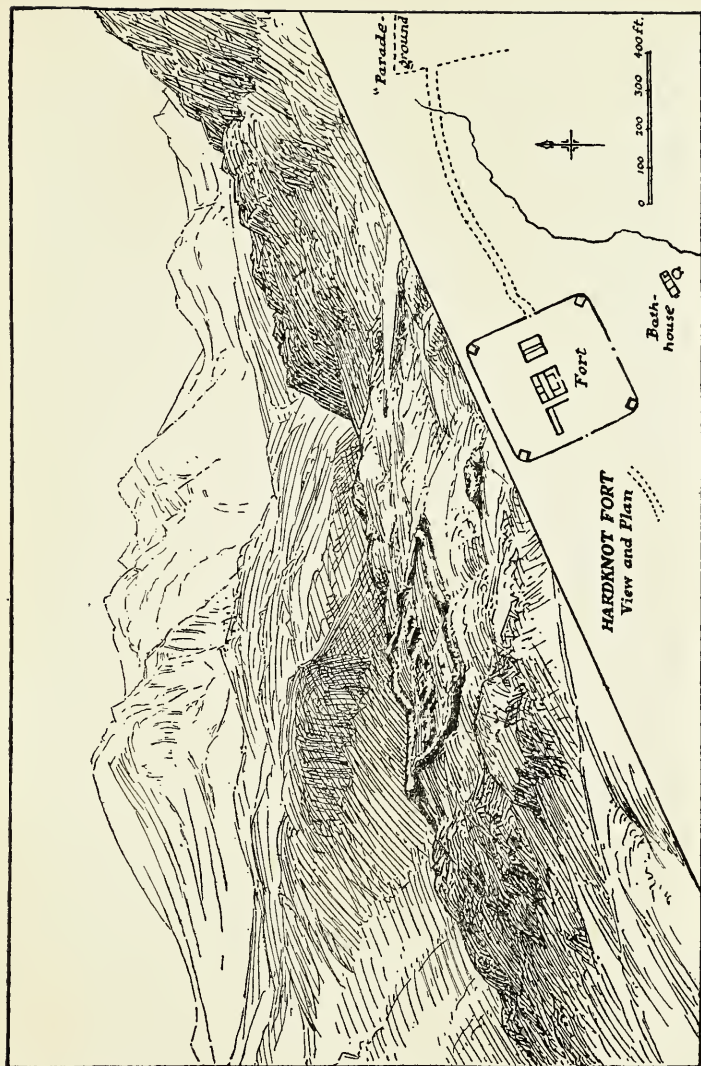
HARDKNOT FORT
View and Plan

"Parade-ground"

100 200 300 400 ft.

Bath-house

Fort

D

near Muncaster Head where Miss Fair of Eskdale
has recently been making fresh finds showing that
pottery as well as tiles were made (N.S. xxiv, 366).

The Roman fort at Ravenglass, CLANOVENTA accor-
ding to Haverfield, has been cut through by the
railway in such a manner that little is to be seen of its
remains except the bath-house, outside the fort,
known as Walls Castle. The walls still stand ten
feet high; the Roman plaster still remains on the
stone, and it is the most complete Roman building
upstanding and undestroyed, in the north of England
(O.S. iii, 17, 23). John Denton, writing about 1610,
identified it with the Lyons Garde of Arthurian
romance, and Camden, visiting this part of Cumber-
land in 1599 was told of a King Eveling who once
had his court here. When its Roman use was for-
gotten it became the local habitation of folklore,
something wonderful and mysterious; for if Lyons
Garde was the Castle Perilous of the Lady of the
Fountain, Liones, and if King Eveling was the Evelac
who ruled the isle of the blessed dead in Celtic legend,
then Ravenglass must once have been thought to be
the fairyland of the Northern Cumbri (N.S. xxiv, 256).

Thence a Roman road probably led round the coast
northwards to the forts at Moresby and Maryport,
and a branch road to Papcastle (ABALLAVA) north of the
Derwent: but this would take us out of our district.
Returning to Ambleside we must trace another line
of road.

Across the mountain called High Street and the
moors between Ullswater and Haweswater runs an

old track, named in the middle ages *Brettestrete*—the
" road of the Britons." This can be seen coming
down the side of Froswick and Ill Bell into Troutbeck
as a steep terrace-road known in the 18th century as
the Scots' Rake. Lanes continue the line down
Troutbeck to Allen Knot, where it might join the
Roman road from Kendal to Ambleside; but to
serve Ambleside, which one would expect to be a
requirement, there ought to be a road from upper
Troutbeck by Woundale and Stock Gill, which has still
to be ascertained. From High Street the road runs
down towards Brougham (not to Yanwath as some
have fancied) and the Roman fort which encloses
Brougham Castle is well marked and identified as
BROCAVUM (not, as in old maps, " Brovacum ").
Here in the Castle a third or fourth century tombstone
to a man named Tittus M— is to be seen, apparently
the monument of a Christian, by some peculiarities
of the wording (N.S. xxii, 140); and here Roman
roads came in (*a*) from the south, up the Lune valley
to Ewe Close and thence straight over the undulating
country (N.S. xx, 1), (*b*) from York, Stainmoor and
the fort at Kirkby Thore (BROVONACAE) on the east;
and (*c*) from Carlisle (LUGUVALLIUM) and Old Penrith
(VOREDA) on the north.

Ambleside, Hardknot and Ravenglass, with the
road connecting them and the High Street or Brette-
strete are the only Roman stations and roads in the
district we describe. It has been supposed that there
must have been a fort at Keswick and a road to it
from Ambleside; but nothing of the kind has been

found, and it is impossible that an occupation of 500 men and their families for 250 years could vanish without leaving, as elsewhere, potsherds and other forgotten trifles, even if the ramparts had been levelled by inundation or cultivation. Chance finds of coins and portable relics of the age in various places mean no more than that Roman soldiers hunted in the forests, or that natives owned and dropped these articles, as of course they did.

Life in these frontier forts was no doubt civilised in the sense of being subject to rule and discipline, but they were not centres of light and learning. The Roman garrisons, after the earliest period, were recruited from British and other "barbarian" populations and did not bring to the Lakes the refinements of Italian or even Southern British city life. The mere fact that when a dish was broken its bits were left on the floor, and only kicked into the corner of the room, shows what it was like in the barracks and guard-houses where no charwomen were admitted. Women were kept outside the fort; they lived in the fortified annexe which can usually be traced adjoining, and we know little of the annexes as yet except the bath-houses. Still there was some amount of ease for long periods under the *Pax Romana*, broken by the disturbances already mentioned.

Stores of wheat, some of it even now found in the granaries, secured their food by military regulations. They hunted in the woods—we learn that from inscriptions offering thanks to the God Silvanus for good hunting; they had a kindly family life—as we know from many prettily worded tombstones to wives and children; and some of the soldiers, having

served out their time, lived to a good old age at such a settlement as VOREDA (Old Penrith) and were commemorated on their graves. (On the general subject see R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1923.) After Constantine's time, Christianity was the prevailing religion and this was the chief legacy given by Rome to Britain.

When the Roman administration ceased, the Britons were left to themselves and their enemies. The accounts we read of devastation by the Picts and Scots make us wonder that the natives of these parts were not exterminated, but it is not easy to exterminate a population. We can believe that their life became more precarious, their resources fewer, and their condition less civilised. There is no good reason to suppose that St. Ninian, who founded Candida Casa in Galloway before the end of the Roman period, ever preached in Cumberland, still less that St. Patrick came here; but it is very possible that Jocelyn of Furness, in writing in the 12th century from written material he read in Ireland at the abbey of Iniscourcy, was not romancing when he said that St. Kentigern preached at Crosfeld, by which he certainly meant Crosthwaite. There must have been an Irish church-tradition to that effect, and the Irish hagiologies, taken early enough, are not negligible.

One curious point has never been stressed in connexion with this story, though it deserves consideration. At Crosthwaite, on Bristowe hill which is close to the church, remains were found in 1903 (N.S. iv, 254) pointing to what used to be called a pre-historic

settlement, though after what we have seen we might
suspect an ordinary British village. There were
fragments of a quern and of a stone vessel, a tooled
stone, and part of a polished celt. The last of
course is of Neolithic type, but might turn up any-
where; the rest appear to be much later. This was
perhaps the village of Britons to whom St. Kentigern,
a Briton himself, preached in A.D. 590 or there-
abouts. Some people have said that St. Kentigern
was wholly mythical; but that is a rationalistic view
which hardly seems needed by the circumstances.
Adamnan and Bede do not mention St. Kentigern,
because the Cumbri, to them, were an inferior race ;
but early Welsh and Irish records name him.

The Romans were just an episode, but the Britons
lasted. Indeed, it is more likely than not that most of
us have a drop of the old British blood in our veins.
The idea that the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians
made a clean sweep of the ancient race, especially
here in the North-west, not only neglects the evidence
of place-names but leaves the whole evolution of our
nation unexplained. If they had done so we should
be Danes or North Germans. The rapid and brilliant
flowering of the Northumbrian people in the times of
Bede and the Bewcastle cross can be understood only
when we regard the Angles of Deira as a mixed race,
combining the sturdiness of the Sassenach with the
artistic temperament of the Cymru. Otherwise the
high culture of Northern England before the Danish
invasion is so inexplicable that no wonder the ordinary
historian has simply refused to believe in it.

III.—ANGLES AND NORSE.

THE Angles filtered into these parts, late and gradually; not coming with an army like the Danes who invaded and settled Yorkshire. All the fighting had been done before they came near the Lake district. The details of wars between the early kings of the Northumbrian Angles and the Britons of the western side are hazy, but they do not concern us. What we know from historical notices is scanty, but fairly distinct. Thus:—

In A.D. 685 St. Cuthbert came to Carlisle. He got a grant of the town and its surroundings from king Ecgfrith about that time; and he found an abbey already there, and Anglian colonists. From place-names it is evident that the lower land, round the coast to Ravenglass, had then been sprinkled over with farm-settlements of the Angles, and that they came from Deira, north of the Humber. To Carlisle they may have come along the Wall and the Irthing valley, but still more likely over Stainmoor from York, because the Eden valley seems to have been occupied early and it was so identified with the English that it got the name of Inglewood, the "English Wood" (Engleswoda, 1150). By way of Skipton, through Craven, there was another access, perhaps used rather later, because Cartmel and its Britons were given to St. Cuthbert about the same time as the gift of

Carlisle; and the Britons could hardly be named if Cartmel had already been occupied by Anglian colonists. Low Furness must therefore have been settled a little later; but High Furness and all the fell dales were never occupied by the Angles at all. There are no early Anglian place-names in the Lake district proper.

Exceptions prove the rule, and there are two exceptions. St. Herebert the hermit was living on his island in Derwentwater when St. Cuthbert came to Carlisle, according to Bede, who lived at the time and wrote shortly afterwards. But Herebert went there to be in the " desert," as such wild places were called by the hermits. Bede also mentions a monastery at the river of Dacore, which must be our Dacre because an Anglian monument, dating from about 800 (as well as the tenth-century stone which has long been known) has been found there; and such monuments were put up at abbeys where people of note were buried. Early Anglian abbeys very often grew out of hermitages, or were founded at " desert " spots, as Lastingham is said by Bede to have been, for the purpose of keeping them secluded and remote from the world. Dacre was such a place, with no Anglian population around it, though not far from the British settlement at Stone Carron, as Herebert's island was not far from the British village of which we have traces at Crosthwaite. The purpose of an Anglian abbey was not to be a centre of missions but to carry on the religious life, as it was understood, without distractions. Incidentally, of course, the

abbeys could not help becoming exemplary and educational, but that was not their first intention: and the existence of Dacre as an abbey shows that the dales were not yet populous with Angles in the seventh century.

One name, "Wonwaldremere" mentioned by Symeon of Durham as the place where the Northumbrian usurper in 791 did away with two young princes, sons of king Elfwald, has often been supposed to be Windermere; but it is not the same word with any old forms of Winander-mere, and there is nothing whatever to show that Angles in 791 even reached Bowness or Ambleside. One reason is obvious. They wanted land for corn and cattle; the country around the fells was suitable for their purpose, and in that country we find many traces of their common fields. But the fell-dales themselves, especially in the wooded state of that age, could not have afforded eligible sites for their farming, and there are no common-fields within the Lake district proper.* The resources of the fells would appeal only to hill-folk and shepherds like the Norse.

The Norse settlement in this region is an old thesis. It has been gradually hammered out of guesses more than a hundred years old, but the evidence now available makes it as certain as a proposition in Euclid. In a word all the early Lake district place-names are Old Norse, except river-names and one or two,

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* A recent study of Grasmere field-names by Miss Gertrude Simpson shows something like common-fields there ; but they are not of the early type, and Grasmere was not settled in Anglian days.

like Blencathara and Penruddock, which prove the survival of Britons.

When the Norse arrived they found Britons here in small villages or homesteads and certainly did not make a clean sweep of them, for we know that the Cymric government of Cumbria took the Vikings as their allies. In pre-Christian ages the Britons had named and even deified their rivers, and the names were learnt by the new-comers ; but it looks as though the Britons here had not taken the same interest in the mountains, and left the naming of them to those who drove their sheep up to the hill-pastures. The little " British settlements " were gradually deserted as the populations amalgamated, and so lost their Cymric names.

The Norse settlers talked Old Norse but lost touch with their far distant homes before the Norman conquest; it is no use trying to derive their place-names from modern Danish or Norwegian, except where dialectic forms not found in the literature of the Viking Age are still preserved in rustic speech. Some of our names contain ancient grammatical forms, like the genitive -ar of certain declensions, and some betray personal names of the Viking Age. But the process of place-naming went on for several generations, and very many thwaites and bys date from as late as the twelfth century.

To get an idea of the first Norse settlements, it is not enough to plot on the map every Norse-looking name. We must consider that the dales were quite wild, but for a few British homesteads; and that

the colonists began by settling outside the district
and gradually worked up into the fells. We must
take the analogies of Norse farming as we gather them
from the early history of the parallel settlement in
Iceland. There, we learn from the *Landnámabók*,
a chief established himself in a " bær " or " by " in
a readily accessible spot: his thralls took the cattle
and sheep to summer pastures further inland and
these in time became fixed farms; and his descendants
cut up the original great land-take with its back-blocks
until all available ground was covered. In Britain
the summer pastures for cows and sheep (the sheep
too were milked) were called by the Norse *erg*, from
Gaelic *airge* or *airidh*, a shieling, making in place-
names *-ergh* and *-er*, *-airey* and *arrow* or *ark*; but
they also used their own name *sætr*, making *satter*,
seat and *side*. The first rough outlying centres were
skálar, "scales" or *búdhir*, "booths." A "thwaite"
means in Iceland a field sloping to a flat, whether
marsh, on which horses were often pastured, or lake;
it did not mean any other sort of field. A *tún*
was the homefield dyked around and manured;
the dyke was not military in intention, but to keep·
wolves out. Now and then, in Iceland, when a
chief indulged in quarrels with neighbours, his *tún*
was made defensible like that of Bersi at Bessatunga
in *Cormac's saga*. But this was exceptional, and
Norse forts are rare in their settlements abroad.
There is one remarkable instance of a stone-built
fort in Iceland at Borgarvirki, which outlaws inhab-
ited early in the eleventh century; but considering the·

frequency of feuds and the burning-in of whole
families (like Burnt-Njál at Bergthorshvoll) it is
rather curious that they did not always fortify
their homesteads.   In Iceland their chief wealth
was sheep, pastured on the heaths or moors, though
they had small cattle, pigs and ponies, and raised a
little grain and vegetables.   They worked in iron,
carved wood, and wove their own cloth from the
wool of their sheep.   And the settlers of the tenth
century here must have followed these lines.

If we try to recast the progress of the Norse settle-
ment in the Lake district we find that the place-
names* are very curiously suggestive.   At the mouths
of the valleys which converge towards the centre of
the fells there is nearly always a place (often a -*by*)
named after some early owner.   We cannot date him
in every case to the beginning of the settlement, but
it looks as though he were the first to be remembered
of the important family which lived at that spot.
Then a little higher up the valley, we find " booths "
or smaller centres which often have Gaelic personal
names as part of their titles; and we know that the
Norse settlers in Iceland took with them Irish or

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* Materials for the study of place-names are not yet quite complete.
For the Lancashire part, Professor Ekwall's *The Place-names of Lancashire*
(Manchester, 1922) is a most valuable work ; his paper on *Scandinavians
and Celts in the North-west of England* (Lund, Sweden, 1918) covers
much of the rest of our ground.   Professor Sedgefield's *Place-names of
Cumberland and Westmorland* (Wilson, Kendal, 1915) collects a good
many ancient forms of the names.   Harald Lindqvist, *Middle-English
Place-names of Scandinavian Origin* (Uppsala, 1911) is a scholarly and
instructive work.   But many more old names are to be found in the
Transactions of the Cumbᵈ. and Westᵈ. Antiquarian Society, *passim*.
For dated forms of Lake-district place-names, see further in Chapter V.

Scottish thralls and retainers whose names were given to the dependent farms they founded, like for example Kalmanstunga; and it must have been the same here. Higher up are summer shielings which grew into sheep farms. At the heads of the valleys there are nearly always names which show that the wild forest was used for keeping pigs.

The actual date of each place at its first occupation ranges from about 950, when we may presume that the Vikings who had arrived on the coast about 925 found their way inland, to the twelfth century, when the language was not yet English.

Remembering then that all these place-names were not given at once, but in the course of perhaps a hundred years of progress and that our enterprise is tentative, let us go round the map clock-wise, beginning with one o'clock, and see how the scheme works out.

Lamonby, though we have not found old forms, looks like the " house of Lagman," a name common at the settlement period and becoming Lamont in Scotland. (Castle) Sowerby (*Saureby* about 1150), found also in Lancs., Yorks., Dumfriesshire and in Iceland as *Saurbær*, must be early; the " sour " or muddy farm. Up the valley are several Scales, and Bowscale. Berrier (*Bergherge*) means the " rock shieling." Grisdale, afterwards called Mungrisdale, from Norse *griss*, pig, was sooner or later the place of pannage or swine-pasturing. Swineside might mean the satter of Sveinn, but we shall see many names of this kind—so many as to suggest that

they all mean swine-pastures. One of the delights promised to good Vikings in Odin's home at Valhöll was to feast on pork from the boar that never failed; and though there is no direct evidence that the earliest Norse here kept swine, they did in Norway at this time (e.g. *Olaf Tryggvason's Saga*, §§ 103-4) and there were places in Iceland named from pigs, which must have been imported. In the 12th century the references to pannage of swine in these upland woods of our fells are very frequent; and it certainly appears that, sooner or later in pre-Norman times, swineherds were busy in all the higher valleys of the fells.

The sagas often refer to thralls of the Norse settlers in Iceland, who were set up in dependent farms, or ran away to the wilds to make places for themselves. Here the Thralls' Well (Threlkeld) seems to indicate such a settlement, in land then forest and unappropriated except by the claimant to an undefined land-take. Oddly enough the land at Threlkeld was undefined in the 13th century, and there was litigation about its boundaries very much later. We do not pretend to fix the areas of these early land-takes but suggest that at first they were simply the valleys, entered from the lower ground on the margin of our circle. Such an entrance would be found at Motherby, whose owner (see the name in chapter V) would " run up " to the Helvellyn range; his Gaelic retainers Maddadh and Duff would give their names to Matterdale and Dowthwaite; his pigs would feed at another Swineside.

THE HART AND WOLF CROSS,
DACRE.

Sölvi or Suli of Soulby would find at Dacre a
church, if not still an abbey; the later pre-Norman
monument there was certainly put up to a Norseman,
for it bears the Hart and Wolf which was the Christ-
ianized Viking's favourite emblem. Aldby, the
" old house," appears to be a later name for an early
settlement; but we have nothing to show for the
residence of Ulf who, it is inferred, owned Ullswater.
The Ulf of Ulcat row was no doubt later and a humble
cottager. Lyulph's Tower is modern, named from
the idea that this was the name of the first baron of
Greystoke, who is otherwise called Siolf; but some-
where in these parts, Ulf, the lord of the land-take,
must have had his " by."

South of the lake there is a strip of land reaching
up into Patterdale. Perhaps its head-quarters were
at Helgi's farm (Helton) and its shielings at Thyra's
erg (Tirril), the windy hut (Winder), and Satter how
(Setterah). Towards the fells, Patrick's dale (Patter-
dale) was possibly a Gaelic retainer's—there is no
reason to suppose an early chapel of St. Patrick; the
dedication was probably suggested by the name,
ages afterwards. And there is Grisedale again.

The Haweswater land-take starts from Bampton
or Shap. Now there is a thoroughly Norse ring
about Bomby, anciently *Bondeby*, " the statesman's
house " ; and Shap itself (see the name in chapter
V) seems to be the place where, later, the Norse had
their parliament. Thornthwaite was an outlying
farm, and Measand is good Norse for the " narrow
strait " of the lake. Higher up, Whelter has lately

given an example of the actual ruins of an early shieling, called in Norse " hut of the grassy cove " (N.S. xxiii, 284). And of course the pigs fed in Swindale, *svína-dalr*.

Approaching again from Kendal-way, a great early territory was included in the name of Strickland. The 18th century local antiquaries thought that this meant " stirk-land," calf-pasture; but consider its extent and forested condition when the name first applied ! The *Stercaland* of the 11th century is more likely " Stýrkar's land," another early claim. Its parts which fall within our circle are " Bannandes dale," perhaps of Benén, an Irishman; Longsleddale with dairies at Docker (nook), Sadgill and perhaps Potter (fell) dependent on Brunolf's house (Burneside); and Kentmere, with a Satter how near Staveley and Scales up the valley, belonging to Ulthwaite (earlier Ulven-thwaite) perhaps Ulfhédin's.

Windermere is at last reasonably explained by Professor Ekwall as the lake of Vinund, who had the satter of Amal (Ambleside), and Rydal, the " clearing in the forest," and Gris-mere (Grasmere) for his pigs, quite in proper order.

High Furness, with Thurston water as its central feature, must at one time have been the estate of Thorstein. Professor Ekwall indeed evokes a petty king of that name to account for " King's farm " (Coniston); but as this land was owned from 1114 by Stephen, King in 1135, it was certainly a bit of his property; and if he put a bailiff there, it would have been called the royal farm. To support this there is

the known piece of royal demesne of Stephen's successor at Kent Force (Farrer, *Kendale*, p. xv). As to the name being Norse, the language was still current hereabouts in Stephen's time. But as Thurston water meant the upper Crake as well as Coniston lake, we might look for Thorstein's "by" somewhere near Lowick. Thence going up the eastern valley into the fells we find Finn's field (Finsthwaite), Hróald's or Hrólf's land (Rusland), Satter-thwaite, and another Grisedale. Just north is Hauk's satter (Hawkshead) which became the headquarters of that valley, but at first was only a dairy or sheep-cote. Going up the Crake valley we find Bethoc's *erg* (Bethecar), marking another Gaelic retainer; Old and New Booth-thwaite (Nibthwaite); Torfi's *erg* (Torver); the "thwaite in a hole" (Hoathwaite) and Arni's satter (Arnside). The "field of Tilli's fort" (Tilberthwaite) means the land round a rock-ridge where traces of habitation suggest the refuge of somebody who had a reason for keeping himself to himself in pre-Norman days. And as the Vikings brought Gaelic thralls with them we can understand why Gienscalan, the "dell of the huts," was so named even in the 12th century.

Here it may be said in passing that, as Hawkshead was wild before Hauk came — not before 950 — it could not be one of the places where the bearers of the body of St. Cuthbert stayed in 876 or thereabouts. They went from the Dane-infested east coast to places where they knew they would get

hospitality; except for a while after leaving Whithorn, when they lost themselves in Galloway on their way home. But pressing westwards they must have gone from abbey to abbey, of those not yet ravaged by the Danes, or from Anglian village to village, through Cumberland north of the Lakes. There was nothing to bring them here. Indeed the idea that every church dedicated to St. Cuthbert was the scene of his presence, alive or dead, is the only basis of the old itinerary of the Pilgrimage; a bit of medieval fancy revived for the sake of its romance.

At the foot of the Duddon valley is Örnulf's house (Arnaby); on the moors above is Swinside. Ulf's how (Ulpha) may be comparatively late, but a Seathwaite and a Bowscale are up the valley; and higher still is the curious foundation of a house on the Castle howe, which must mean another stronghold of perhaps the 11th century—an outlaw's eyrie.

In Eskdale, the medieval manor was Dalegarth, formerly " East field " (Austhwaite) involving something more important to the west of it. The headquarters could not be Waberthwaite, which means "field of the hunting or fishing booth" near an Anglian church which still survived, or Langley, which was the *erg* of a Norsewoman called Langlif. Renglas, the earlier name of Ravenglass, seems to mean the *rein* or strip of land of a Celtic-named Glas, " Grey." But there is an old tradition that the 12th century owners of Muncaster lived in Walls Castle,

VIKING AGE CROSS, MUNCASTER.
Photo. by Mr. W. L. Fletcher. To face p. 50.

HOGBACK TOMBSTONE, GOSFORTH.

To face p. 51.

Phot. by Mr. W. L. Fletcher.

and if so, it must have been habitable when the Norse set up the tenth-century Muncaster cross. Up stream there are Norse sites at Birker, perhaps the " birch-*erg*," and at Butterilket, which perhaps after after all means the " booths of Ulfkell."

For a space north of this, our sequence—so regular until now—is broken. Laconby may be ancient. Gosforth certainly was a " Kirk-by " in the later part of the 10th century; its cross proves that, and suggests that it was headquarters of a chief whose name is lost; and a hogback tombstone there, with two opposing armies carved on it, must mean a battle. We can find a hint of the reason why the sequence fails: some new man came and bought the estate, effacing the old names with *Copeland*, the " bought land." A transaction like this was not unknown; a certain Thorstein went to Iceland from the Hebrides and growing tired of his claim he sold it; a certain Öndótt bought land at Kolbeinsá in Iceland from the original settler (*Landnáma*, iii, 9; iv, 8). So the original owners of the Gosforth district were bought out, at any rate before the later part of the 11th century, and that makes the strata, so to say, unconformable. But up Wasdale there are Norse names, Scale, and the dale of booths (Bowderdale); perhaps Windsor, an ancient site, may be for Winds-erg, and up the Bleng is Swinsty-beck. Up Ennerdale, Gillflinter beck was the gill of Finnthor, which is Thorfinn reversed, and a name known in Cumberland in the 11th century. A Swinside is on the brink of the fell south of Ennerdale bridge.

The " field of Brand " (Branthwaite) lies to the
north, and near it the " shieling on the moss "
(Mosser) from which Loweswater is approachable.
But the Cocker valley was probably settled from
Brigham, where we knew there was a 10th century
" Kirk-by," proved by its monuments; and we can
be pretty sure that it was founded by a Viking from
Gaelic parts, who brought with him the cult of St.
Bridget. We can quote a parallel again from Ice-
land, where Örlyg of the Hebrides settled, taking
with him the name of Patrick, and founded Patreks-
fjord. A number of Irish and Scottish saints came
into north-western England and south-western
Scotland in the same way; the churches of St.
Patrick, St. Columba, St. Bridget, St. Sanctan and
others cannot be referred to missionary efforts of
the 5th and 6th centuries, but are associated with
relics or circumstances of the Viking Age, showing
that Christianized Norse brought their religion with
them. Up the Cocker valley are various thwaites
and scales ; perhaps an *erg* at Stanger; and—again—
Swinside.

Finally, entering by the Derwent valley, we come
to a namesake of the cottager of Ambleside at
Embleton; and a " Thorn-thwaite " with its Grise-
dale; and a " broad-thwaite " (Braithwaite) with
Gudrid's hut at Gutherscale, and a Swinside as
before. Along the other side of the valley, Bassen-
thwaite may be the field of Baugstein or some such
name; and its church was dedicated to St. Bega,

like St. Bees—these two alone in the world. Now it
is a curious point that at St. Bees, down to the 13th
century, they kept an ancient Holy Ring in the
church, for men to swear oaths upon. So they used
in Norse temples of pagan days; and it follows that
there was a pagan Norse temple at St. Bees earlier
than the 10th century church, which in all likelihood
was the temple, converted. The Norse for " ring "
is *baugr*, Anglo-Saxon *bēag*. The Holy Ring, con-
verted and Latinized, was *Sancta Bega*, which the
medieval hagiologist forgot when he wrote the
romance of his patron saint, picking up bits of
folklore from all sources (Canon Wilson, *St. Bees
Register*, p. xxxiv). But whoever founded Bassen-
thwaite, this Norse tradition ruled the dedication of
the church.

Crosthwaite might have been named by the Norse,
if any legend of St. Kentigern still lingered there
in their day. Round about and up Borrowdale are
many thwaites and scales; the mountain-names are
mostly Norse, and Borrowdale itself, *borgar-dalr*,
from the Castle (crag), is pure Norse. But these
inner dales must have been settled late; we cannot
date them. We can only indicate the general course
of events starting from a few names which are cer-
tainly early. Enough has been sketched out to
show the process by which the fell-dales became
habitable for the folk of the breed that occupied
them.

As to the polity of the settlers, they took up land

in a waste place, and were free men upon free holdings, odal and not feudal. At the time of the settlement there was a Cymric kingdom of Cumbria, of which the capital was probably Penrith (N.S. xx, 55), for Carlisle was in ruins after Halfdan's raid of 876—the nearest approach of any Danes to the Lake District. Owain was king of the Cumbri up to the battle of Brunanburh (936) when he disappeared, and Duvenald (Dumnail or Dunmail) was his successor until 945 when he was driven out by King Eadmund, who assigned all Cumbria to Malcolm, the heir to the Scottish crown. It is evident, from the history of Brunanburh, that the Vikings in general were then allies of the Cumbri and the Scots; before that, the Commendation of Bakewell classes them all together, and afterwards it is most probable that they were still hand-in-glove with the Cumbri. When Earl Thored from York harried Westmorland (A.D. 966) and when Æthelred the "Unready" in A.D. 1000 ravaged Cumberland, it was certainly to drive out or to keep down the Vikings. But it is not likely that they were subservient to the Cymric or Scottish kings. In most of the Norse colonies there are places with names derived from Thingvellir, the "fields of the assembly," and on the eastern fringe of this district there was anciently a site (*Thengeheved* at Shap, early 13th century charter) which looks like their meeting place. The terraced mound at Fellfoot in Little Langdale has been pointed out as a possible Thingmount, but there is nothing to make this
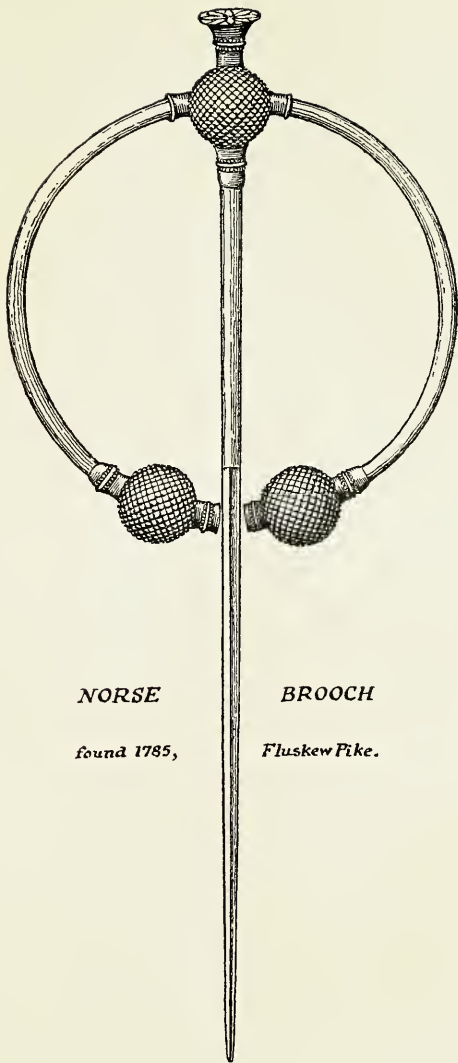
NORSE   BROOCH

found 1785,   Fluskew Pike.

certain.   It is very doubtful that Legberthwaite was
named from a *lögberg* or hill of laws.

Of concrete relics they have left plenty round about
the fells, like the silver brooch 22 inches long (p. 55),
and the sword (opposite) from Witherslack.   Also we
find many stone monuments in an Anglo-Norse style
at the churches; but there were none in the dales,
for then and long afterwards the dales-folk resorted
to churches on the outskirts of the fells.

By further research we may find that some of the
Norse shielings can be identified, like the ruin at
Whelter already mentioned.   An enclosure (see p. 58
with a hut in it, not of British type, called Towtop
Kirk (N.S. iii, 265) on the Bampton moors may be
Norse, and others may yield remains of their age
when they are carefully examined.   Traces of
habitation, not British but pre-Norman, on defensible
sites like the Castle Rock of St. John's Vale, the
Castle how in the Upper Duddon valley, and the
fort of Tilli near Coniston, must be of this obscure
period.   We have already suggested that they were
strongholds of outlaws, and one curious instance of
what looks like an outlaw's presence is seen in the
old name of Sprinkling Tarn.   At the time (13th
century) when the Styhead track was called Heder-
langhals, Norse for the " long pass of the heath " or
moors, the lakelet was known as *Prentibiountern*.
This seems to represent *Prenti-Björn*, Branded
Björn (N.S. xx, 244), an outlaw branded for his crime,
haunting the wild spot like Grettir the Strong at
Arnarvatn on the great heath of central Iceland.

VIKING AGE SWORD, FOUND AT WITHERSLACK:

2ft. long without the lost point.

Another place-name gives us a hint of some important fight about which history is silent. Orrest, where the line of the ancient road from Brougham over the fells to Troutbeck would meet the Roman route from Kendal to Windermere, is a spot where the meeting of hostile forces is very likely. The name is Norse *orrosta*, battle. The occasion might have been during Eadmund's invasion (945) or Thored's ravaging of Westmorland (966) or Kenneth mac Malcolm's raid (his *floruit* is 971-995)—or—who knows what fighting may have gone on, in those dimly known times?

After the defeat of Dumnail (945) Cumbria was handed over to Malcolm and remained Scottish, but under the overlordship of the King of England up to 1032. Then King Knut exchanged Cumbria for Lothian and for the first time drew the line which became the Border. Thenceforward this district, so far as it was under any recognised authority, was held by the earls of Northumbria, up to the great earl Gospatrick and his son Dolfin whom William Rufus drove out of Carlisle in 1092. But Gospatrick's famous charter of about 1070, granting Allerdale to a certain Thorfinn Thorisson (mac Thore) does not touch any part of the Lake District. Nor does Domesday Book (1086); it stops short at the fringe of the fells. It is obvious that the descendants of the Norse settlers were left to themselves.

Though they had no historical writings they had fine poems, current among them if not composed on the spot. We have noticed the picture of a battle—or
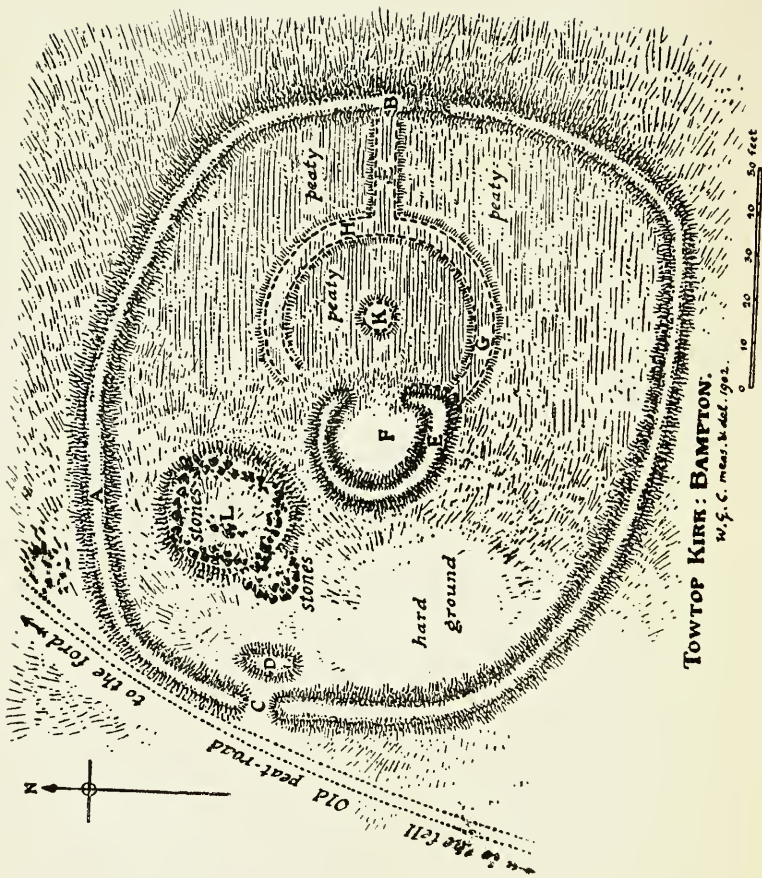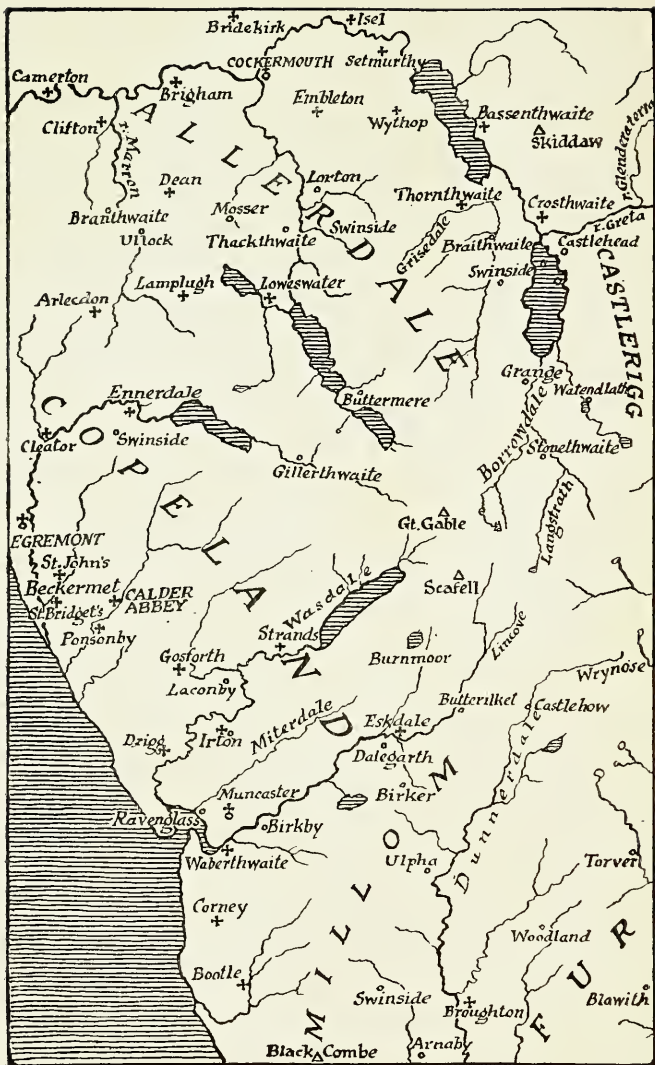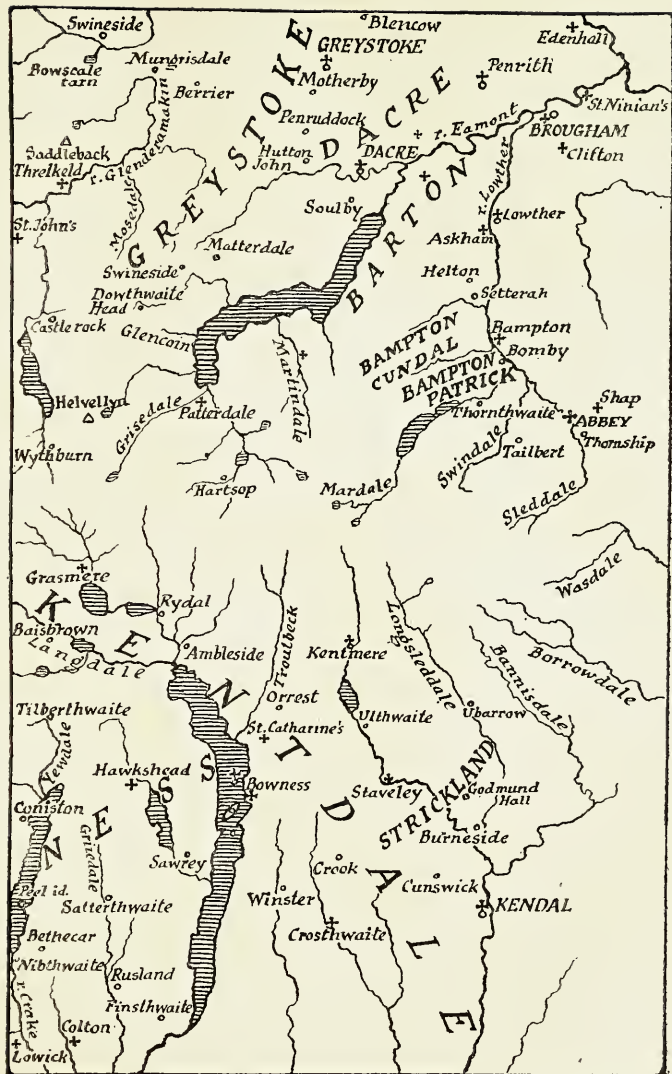
TOWTOP KIRK: BAMPTON.

W. G. C. meas. & del. 1902.

rather of a truce—between two armies on the Gos-
forth hogback; and at Gosforth the beautiful cross
of about A.D. 1000, illustrates in a remarkable manner
the greatest of all the Edda poems (N.S. xvii, 99).
Nowhere else, in the whole range of Scandinavian
settlement, is there such a record as this.

IV.—BARONS AND ABBOTS.

FOR a while after the Norman conquest, which hereabouts means the visit of William Rufus to Cumberland in 1092, the new lords had enough to do in settling themselves in the lowlands. They did not begin meddling with the fells until they had established their organisations in more accessible parts. One indication of this is that none of their early castles, no stockaded ditch enclosing a *motte* or mound on which a wooden house was built, occurs in the fells at all. Round about there are plenty. Visible mottes, or traces under later buildings, are found at Appleby, Tebay, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kendal, Aldingham, Millom, Beckermet, Egremont, Maryport, Castle Sowerby—to name the nearest. Some obviously defensible houses on hills, belonging to the medieval families in the dales, are not mottes, but later; such as Rydal Old Hall (on the great hummock to left-hand of the road from Ambleside to Rydal) and perhaps Castlehead, Keswick, if that was the site of Derwentwater Castle, now vanished. A kind of toy motte from which Rydal Mount gets its name, can hardly be a Norman stronghold; one suspects it of being a bit of landscape gardening of comparatively modern date.

Again, there are no early Norman churches or chapels in the dales. Plenty of round arches occur,

and of twelfth century building, but late twelfth century, and these are nearly all on the outskirts. Some of them are pre-Norman sites, as Dacre, Lowther, Urswick, Waberthwaite, Muncaster, Irton, Gosforth; or twelfth century foundations as Greystoke, Barton, Askham, Bampton, Shap, Millom, Bassenthwaite. But Crosthwaite church was not founded until about 1175; Windermere (St. Martin's) may have begun as a late 12th century chapel; Hawkshead is mentioned about 1200 as a chapel of Dalton (the fabric as we see it is all very much later). Up to the end of the twelfth century most dalesmen were still content to ride a dozen miles to church, if need be, and in those days going to church was infrequent and a form of holiday excursion. There was no hardship in the matter except for funerals; and the reason why Hawkshead wanted to be parochial is that a winter funeral, by way of Satterthwaite and Colton, Greenodd and Ulverston, to Dalton church was sometimes hardly practicable. The Coniston tradition of the procession that lost the corpse and found it in Jenkin Syke must be a very old one; for Coniston was made parochial in 1586, and after that had no need to bury at Ulverston. Similarly, all the western dales were in St. Bees parish, Grasmere was in Kendal, Mardale in Shap; and where Borrowdale buried before 1175 we can only guess—perhaps at Brigham. But from the later 10th century the countryside was Christian and it was never paganized by fresh Danish raids like some parts; only churchgoing was not a weekly duty for the layman.

Now when early Norman lords had grants of perfectly wild country where the people were so rough that it did not seem likely they would pay their rents, the natural impulse was to give a good piece to the priests. This was the period when the Norman abbeys were founded—Carlisle priory, 1123; St. Bees, about 1125; Furness, 1127; Fountains, 1132; Calder, 1134; Byland, finally in 1177; Cartmel, 1188-94; Shap, about 1199. These were the abbeys which owned a good part of the Lake District, but they did not enter into their possessions all at once.

When (about 1114) Stephen of Blois, afterwards king, received from Henry I a grant of Cartmel and Furness with other lands, he could hardly have done better than by planting monks in Furness and giving them all the district that was not in other recognised control. But the monks do not seem to have attempted any management of the fells until an occasion arose which made it necessary. About 1150 William de Lancaster got a grant from Roger de Mowbray of a great tract of country, including the land of Lonsdale and Kentdale. He raised the question of the ownership of Furness fells. This could not be answered without a survey of that region then unknown to outsiders. Resident neighbours knew it, and could delimit it. Thirty sworn men beat the boundaries. They enclosed the fells with a line taken from Wrynose down the Duddon on the west, and down the Brathay and Windermere on the east, and they halved this block by following Yewdale beck, Coniston water and the Crake. William de Lancaster chose the

western half, leaving Hawkshead, Satterthwaite and Colton to the abbey. This was ratified by Henry II about 1163, and then this part of the Lake District began to be Normanized.

Half a century later, Furness abbey bought Borrowdale from Alice II de Rumelli, daughter of Alice I and William fitz Duncan, and heiress of Allerdale by the death of her brother, " the Boy of Egremont " who was drowned at the Bolton Strid in Yorkshire. The monks kept her receipts for the purchase, £50 on Sept. 29, 1209, and £100 with 10 marks over, on December 25 of the same year, making £156 13s. 4d. in all (*Furness Coucher*, ii, edit. J. Brownbill, p. 577). The agreement gives the bounds, which show how much of the mountain country was by this time named and known:—from Ashness beck to the hill between Watendlath and Borrowdale, past Low-door and High-door (*Heghedure*, whence perhaps Ether knot) by *Marcebuthe* to Dock tarn and thence to Langstrath beck and up to the place called head of Glaramara and onwards to the top of Styhead pass and Windy gap, to Gatescarth head and over the tops to the head of Scawdel, to the white stone in Little Greenop and down the sike to *Bredinebrigge* and further down the sike to *Arneraid* on the shore of Derwentwater and so back to Ashness beck. More names are given in a document of 1280 by which Furness abbey received from Adam de Derwentwater a right of way from Borrowdale to Furness by two routes, one from Ashness beck to Castlerigg, Shoulthwaite, Smathwaite and Wythburn to the *Kaltre*,

F

which must mean a withered tree at or near Dunmail
Raise; and the other route was by Watendlath and
Harrop to Wythburn.

In 1242 David de Mulcaster of Butterilket, a
younger son of the Pennington family, granted to
Furness abbey in exchange for Monkfoss (near Bootle)
a great part of upper Eskdale. The boundary ran from
the Esk up Harterfell beck, by Hardknot pass and
Hardknot fell to the head of Mosedale, top of Crinkle
Crags, the Three Tarns, Bowfell, the Uregap, Esk
pike (so named recently, then Tongue head) and Esk
hause and down the Esk. Later in the same year
Alan de Pennington confirmed the transaction, for
it was he who had granted this land in 1210 to his
brother David. Then about 1290 the monks got
permission to enclose the pastures of Butterilket and
Lincove, adjoining the forest of the lord of Egremont
(i.e. Scafell, in 1794 Scofell or Scowfell, which by this
seems to be Norse, *Skóga-fell*, " wooded hill," like
the same name in the Isle of Man). They were to
make a dyke, wall or paling, whichever they liked,
but not too high for the deer and their fawns to leap.
The dyke is there still. Many of us have wondered
" Why Throstlegarth? " as we tramped this wild valley
—the last spot of untouched mountain-scenery, finest
in England. The garth, at any rate, is the monks'
work, whatever " Throstle " means here (the Rev.
W. S. Sykes, N.S. xxiv, 246). And from these deeds
(*Furness Coucher*, ii, 561-579) we find that *Borudale*
was also the name of the upper Duddon valley, no
doubt from the Castle how near Black Hall.

Fountains abbey also was a Lake District proprie-
tor. It acquired from Alice II de Rumelli, by various
transactions beginning about 1195, the church, vill
and mill of Crosthwaite, and Hestholm (Derwent
Island), and Watendlath and Langstrath. One would
hardly expect bits of this land to be so valuable as
they turned out to be under the management of
Cistercian monks, who were nothing if not great
farmers. The two abbeys, Furness and Fountains,
made an agreement in 1211 fixing their borders more
exactly, and Stonethwaite in Borrowdale was left
on the Fountains side of the line. Later on, when the
dairy farm there had become prosperous, somebody
at Furness abbey regretted that it had gone to Foun-
tains, and started the idea that the agreement had
been unfairly influenced by their brother Nicholas who
had once been a Fountains monk. The dispute was
referred first to other Cistercian abbots; then it was
taken to the Chapter General of the Order, who decided
for Furness in 1302, but Fountains would not accept
the decision. The abbot of Cîteaux appointed the
abbot of Holme Cultram and another, not in this
district, to settle the case, but they differed. In
1303 the bishop of Carlisle wrote to the abbot of
Cîteaux protesting against breaking the agreement of
1211; but next year the referees came to a decision
in favour of Furness. Then, the custodian of Cocker-
mouth Castle wrote to the Barons of the Exchequer
that a judgment respecting ownership of land had been
given without consulting the king, which of course
was illegal; and so the king took the little vaccary of

Stonethwaite into his own hands. Fountains was
equal to the emergency and offered the king forty
shillings to have that pasture—and got it.

The church of Crosthwaite, which Fountains abbey
acquired (p. 67), had then been in existence for about
20 years. It seems to have been dedicated to St.
Kentigern with distinct reference to a belief that he
had preached at the place; but whether this was
really tradition or whether Jocelyn of Furness started
the idea from something he read in an Irish life of the
saint, is not quite clear.   It does, however, illustrate
two important points about the twelfth-century
Normans; one, that they were interested in anti-
quities (which is no news), and the other, that they
or rather, their churchmen, were anxious to keep up a
kind of continuity with the old local character of
places where they were comparatively new comers.
Popular history from " Ivanhoe " downwards gives
them too bad a name.   The twelfth century and the
men who moved in it are worth our respect ; for if
the Norsemen stubbed the waste, the Normans
brought it into cultivation.

But here in the Lake District they came late.
For example, from these Fountains charters we gather
something of the family de Derwentwater.   To
their ancestor the " Chronicle of Cumbria," a late
medieval and sometimes untrustworthy " Who's
Who" of Norman lords, says that Castlerigg and the
forest between the Greta and the Caldew—Skiddaw
" forest," as the maps still have it—were given, early
in the twelfth century.   But this new owner, Odard

son of Liolf, did not hasten to Keswick and enjoy the
amenities of the Lakes. If he had done so, there
would be a Norman *motte* on Castlerigg. The first
known "de Derwentwater" is a William who was
living when Lady Alice sold off her less-valued land
to the monks, a century and more after the Normans
came to Cumberland. His son Adam, about 1210,
granted to Fountains abbey "Espense" in Castle-
rigg and the marsh adjoining; probably the
"Esmess" of Queen Elizabeth's days and the
"Isthmus" of Queen Victoria's. Soon after 1234
Adam's son William bought the land back again,
giving as part of the price leave for the monks to
have a mill dam "on his land of Kesewic," the
"cheese-dairy." That is the first we hear of Keswick.

East of Castlerigg and for long afterwards with no
fixed boundary (as we know by litigation on the
subject) was the barony of Greystoke, granted by
Henry I to Forne son of Siolf who died about 1130.
His Norse name (Forni Sjólf's or Sæulf's son) suggests
that he, like some others who had great possessions
and rose to high positions under the Normans, was
a native descendant of the Norse settlers who simply
bought in his own land under the new settlement.
He was overlord of the owners of Threlkeld, who
appear early in the thirteenth century with a manor-
house and chapel of ease under Greystoke. They too
became famous in later years from these small
beginnings.

South of Ullswater lies Westmorland, which had
a very tangled history in the twelfth century; a

history which has been greatly cleared up by Dr.
William Farrer in the introduction to *Records of
Kendale* (Wilson, Kendal, 1923) and in an earlier
paper (N.S. vii, 100). We need only take the leading
points of the final settlement by which Kendal
became a barony in 1189 and Westmorland a barony
in 1203, two separate baronies which afterwards
formed the county we now call Westmorland. At
first there was a good deal of overlap; for example,
Barton, the strip of land south of Ullswater, was long
afterwards held by the lords of Kendal while Bampton
and Shap were in Westmorland proper; and western
High Furness is not now in Westmorland. The story
is really a family history, and something like a Norse
saga in its preamble:—

There was a man named Ealdred in the time of
Eadward the Confessor, English by name but canny
by nature, for he managed to own considerable
possessions and to keep on good terms with the powers
that were. His son Ketel had land in Kentdale and
in Copeland, about 1086, and married his son Orm to
Gunilda, daughter of the great earl Gospatrick who
was descended from all the famous old kings of
England and Scotland and was the chief man on both
sides of the Border. His grandson, born about 1100,
was named after him, and married a Norman, Egelina
Engaine. Their son Thomas married a lady Grecia
and acquired, probably with her, the lordship of
Culwen in Kirkcudbright, and he died about 1200.
Thence came the family of de Culwen or Curwen,
with land both in West Cumberland and in Westmor-

land. One of them settled a priory of Premonstratensians at Shap, about 1199, with endowments of land round about, but still was able to leave Thornthwaite and its "back premises" up to the Mardale fells to the later Curwens.

Here we must interrupt the story or leave unexplained the northern half of Bampton. Bampton Cundale was named after a family which came from Cundall in Yorkshire and owned this piece, under Westmorland, from the middle of the twelfth century. About 1160, William de Cundal granted to Huctred son of Ravenchild (the Norse Hrafnkell) part of this manor, and the charter is interesting as a statement of the woods which then covered the dales of Bampton fell and of the shielings which Huctred was allowed to make between Wildale and Heltondale beck (for details see the article by the Rev. F. W. Ragg, N.S. xix, 118). The Lowthers were at Lowther from an early date in the thirteenth century, but did not begin to get land in the Lake District until the fourteenth.

To resume the saga of Kentdale: Ealdred's grandson (according to the old authors)* named Gilbert held land in Kentdale and Furness under the lords for the time being. His son William de Lancaster, first of the name, acquired from King Stephen Warton in Kentdale and Garstang in Lancashire, and from Roger de Mowbray all his lands in Lonsdale, Kentdale and Horton in Ribblesdale, about 1150.

* And Dr. William Farrer says this "is not impossible." (*Lancs. Pipe Rolls*, p. vii.)

This last charter, Dr. Farrer says, did not continue
effective for very long; but William de Lancaster
the second held part of Furness and Kentdale, and
dying in 1184 left all to his daughter Helewise.   She
was in her childhood the ward of William Marshall,
afterwards lord of Cartmel and earl of Pembroke,
who founded Cartmel priory.   Then she married
Gilbert, the son of King Richard Cœur-de-Lion's
steward, Roger fitz Reinfred, and to him King Richard
in 1189 granted—for £100—an estate which, Dr.
Farrer says, probably included all the wastes and
forest in the dales above Kentdale to the bounds
of Copeland and Westmorland and part of Furness.
This made him a baron and Kendal a barony, for the
first time properly so described.   Within that area
there were a few pieces of land not Gilbert's, such as
Furness abbey's fells and Conishead priory's little
estate of Baisbrown in Langdale; but though the area
was large the " rateable value " was small.   Winder-
mere and Grasmere were forest, and only slowly being
brought into cultivation.   That the clearing of the
forest still went on is shown by a letter of King
Henry III in 1225 to William de Lancaster the third,
in which the baron of Kendal is scolded for treating
" knights and true men " as trespassers because
they had cleared and " improved " pieces of the
forest—" whereas we granted and commanded that
all the woods, except our own demesne woods, should
be disafforested . . . and you, nevertheless, hold as
forest in the same state as they formerly were certain
woodlands and moors, to the injury and loss of your

true men and neighbours." So we see that, in the thirteenth century, population and cultivation were only slowly creeping up the dales right into the heart of the Lake District, near places where the abbeys, at the same time, were making the sheep-farms we have noticed. Hawkshead, under Furness abbey, had already become populous enough to demand a church of its own.

One of the abbeys was Byland in Yorkshire, to which part of the Westmorland Borrowdale was granted by William II de Lancaster about 1180. Thereby hangs a tale; for this was in settlement of a dispute between William's father and that very remarkable man Wimund, bishop of the Isles. He had been a Furness monk, who went to the Isle of Man as one of the founders of Rushen Abbey, a daughter of Furness. He commended himself to King Olaf of Man and became bishop, and by this record he seems to have ended his days at Byland. It is difficult to believe that he was really the person who pretended to be—or was—Malcolm MacHeth, heir to the earldom of Argyll, and carried on a guerilla warfare with King David of Scotland until he was caught and blinded, and after a long imprisonment reinstated as the earl of Ross. The identity is not now generally accepted by historians but Wimund may have been mixed up with this attempt ; he was a stirring character, in any case.

Strickland Ketel, between Kendal and Windermere, was given by William II de Lancaster to a man named Ketel, to hold for sixpence a year, in the

middle of the twelfth century, whence its name. Even under the Normans the people there had Norse names; Finnthor of Bolteston (Bowston at Burneside) and his son Orm are examples. The earliest mention of Crook is about 1180; of Staveley a little later; and of Longsleddale and Kentmere in the thirteenth century. The chapel of St. Margaret at Staveley was built in the 14th century and the chapel at Kentmere shows some signs of thirteenth or fourteenth century work.

In Furness, William I de Lancaster granted Seathwaite and Dunnerdale between 1140 and 1170 to Roger son of Orm of Kirkby Ireleth; the confirmation, dated between 1170 and 1184, describes the land as lying between Licul (the Lickle) and Duden, and from Licul over against the mountain to Deirsgard, and from the head of the fence upwards to Calfheud and thence over the mountain to the head of the valley of Glenscalan and to Wranishals, and so by the Duden back to the Licul. Deirsgard may be the great dike or deer-trap on Bleaberry haws; if so Calfheu[e]d must be Dow crags; Glenscalan we have already mentioned. Wranishals is Wrynose. All this ground was known and used, for deer-forest and sheep-pasture; but it was valued at only four shillings a year. It is possible that it was let to Roger even before 1140 (Dr. William Farrer, *Lancs. Pipe Rolls, etc.*, 443) but not long before.

Coming now to West Cumberland, all between the Duddon and the Derwent was in the barony of Copeland, granted by Henry I to William Meschines, who

died about 1134. He built his *motte* at Egremont and called the place by a Norman name; the shape of the mound and ditch are still traceable under the later castle buildings. He disposed of parts of his barony thus:—

To Godard de Boyville the lordship of Millom, where also a *motte* can be traced; the fells belonging to the lordship ran up to the Esk and to Hardknot. Part of this, namely Ulpha, John Denton says, "was granted to one Ulff, the son of Evard, whose posterity enjoyed it till the time of K. Hen. 3rd." Ulf son of Eward witnessed a charter of 1200 or a little earlier (*St. Bees*, 466). Canon Wilson thought that this family's original headquarters were at Waberthwaite; probably of old Norse stock. Austhwaite (Dalegarth) was sub-let to Benedict, son of Ketel, in the early part of the thirteenth century. We hear little of Devoke or Duffock's water until late in that century when five nets for fishing in it were allowed to the de Austhwaites (Wilson, *St. Bees*, 573).

North of the Esk, Muncaster was held by Benedict son of Gamel de Pennington in 1185. John Denton says "the right name is Mulcastre . . . of an old castle there toward the water side . . . which was the ancient dwelling place of the Penningtons, and is yet visible in the ruins, they call it the Old Walls (for their present mansion house is of later erection)," meaning that Benedict lived in the bath-house of the Roman fort. Up Eskdale, as we have seen, David of this family was of Butterilket early in the

thirteenth century. No doubt he found it dull, and was glad to exchange it for Monkfoss on the high road round the coast and the chance of seeing life.

The bounds of Miterdale in Eskdale are given in 1294 as from the place where *Hollegil* falls into the Irt, ascending to *Wassewater* on that side of the stream of *Lesagh* and along Lesagh to *Ederlangebeck*, thence ascending to le Cance (read *Cauce*, " causey ") and by the boundaries of the abbot of Furness to those of John de Hodeleston (Millom lordship). The stream of *Lesagh* must mean Lingmell beck ; *Ederlange beck* is Styhead beck, and *le Cauce* the old road traceable up Grains Gill; thus we get an early sketch of wild Wastwater. In lower Wasdale the priory of St. Bees owned the chapel, as it did the chapels of Eskdale, Ennerdale and Loweswater. Ranulf son of William Meschines gave the priory tithes of pigs, hunting and vaccaries, as well as ordinary tithes, with the manor of Ennerdale ; and his sister, the first Alice de Rumelli, gave free pasture for the priory pigs in these western dales. The chapel of Loweswater and land there were given to St. Bees by Ranulf de Lyndesay before his death in 1158; he also gave land in Lorton to Carlisle priory.

Here we come to the end of the great Egremont barony, for the land between the Cocker and the Derwent was made over by William Meschines to Waldeve son of Gospatrick, who settled at Cockermouth, thenceforward headquarters of the barony of Allerdale-above-Derwent ; and when William fitz Duncan, who inherited Allerdale, married Alice
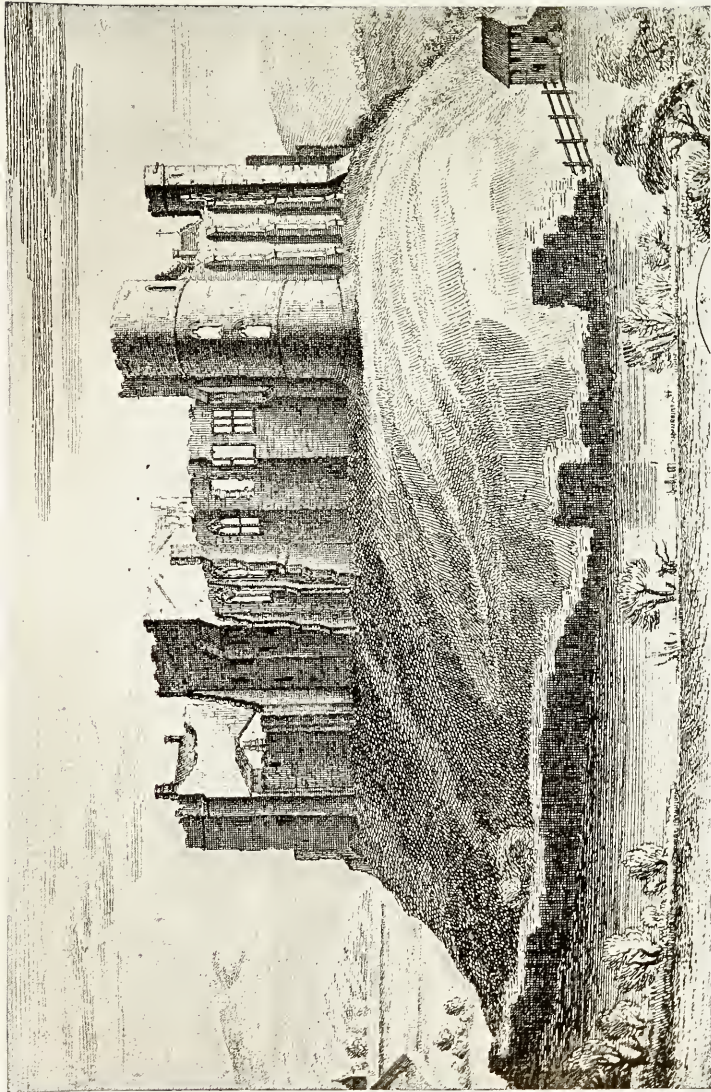
COCKERMOUTH CASTLE AS S. BUCK SAW IT IN 1739.

de Rumelli (the first of the name) who inherited Egremont, for a short time these two baronies were joined. Hence we find lady Alice the second parting with Borrowdale to Furness abbey and with Crosthwaite to Fountains, though her brother had been the "Boy of Egremont."

In Allerdale, Brackenthwaite at the foot of Crummock water was granted by Alan fitz Waldeve to Waldeve fitz Dolfin after the middle of the twelfth century; the charter (Wilson, *St. Bees*, 536) included pannage of swine throughout the forest of Allerdale except in Borrowdale. But this tenant, Waldeve, was the first de Moresby and lived on the west coast; he took this upland valley, then a wild and wooded region, merely as a place for his pigs. Ingilberdhop in Lorton, perhaps Hope(beck), was given to Carlisle priory early in the 13th century (Wilson, *St. Bees,* 566-7). Setmurthy had a chapel about 1230, and at Wythop are the ruins of another early chapel. Langfit in Embleton was granted by John de Ireby to Udard son of Adam de Crosthwaite about 1210 and Embleton deer park was licenced for enclosure about 1285 (*St. Bees*, 571, 568). The moat at Embleton seems to be of the fourteenth century, to surround the manor-house there of de Lowthers.

By this short survey of twelfth century dales, under barons and abbots, we get a clear idea of the very slow penetration of a rough forest region. The Norse had dotted it with their shielings and satters, but a good many of even pre-Norman sites named with Norse names were not established all at

once. Down to the middle of the twelfth century, Norse continued to be spoken. This is shown by the tympanum at Pennington church which was founded about this time. The stone is carved with an angel and round the arch is written in late runes— [*Ka*]*mial seti thesa kirk Hubert masun va*[*n* . . .]; "Gamel founded this kirk; Hubert mason wrought the work." It is debased Norse, and the name and description of the craftsman are foreign; but it shows that Furness folk about 1150 talked neither English nor French; they still held to the speech of their ancestors which gradually became transformed into the dialect of the district.

V.—THE MEDIEVAL MAP.

HAVING now brought the story to about the year
1300 we might stop and look round, for we shall
find that by this time the Lake District was pretty well
developed into a settled and inhabited country—much
as it remained until modern days.   There is indeed a
map of England (p. 80) sketched by a draughtsman
of about A.D. 1300, in an old and very faded parch-
ment in the Bodleian Library, from which it is
possible to recover an idea of the points that struck
a contemporary before the age of surveying.   In
the part showing the Lake District there is not much
detail, for the map was probably meant to help King
Edward I and his captains on the way to Scotland,
and not as a study of geography.   It gives the main
rivers, *Lon*, *Kent*, *Leuen*, *Doden*, *Esk*, *Caldew*, and
Eden, each running out of a round pool.   The
Duddon's source is marked *pol;* the Leven's is a big
round   pond   marked   *Wenandremere*;   and   *Tarne
Wathelan*—Tarn Wadling, now no more—bulks large
as an oval lake, because it was well known to any who
passed up and down the great north-western road.
Across the middle of the map is written *Montc̄brēses*,
" Montes Cumbrenses," and in oblong frames are
Foresta de Inglewode and [Foresta de] *Kendale*.
The map marks roads, with distances from town to
town: *Lancastre* xvj (miles) to *Kirkbie Kendale* and

From the Bodleian map
of about A.D. 1300.
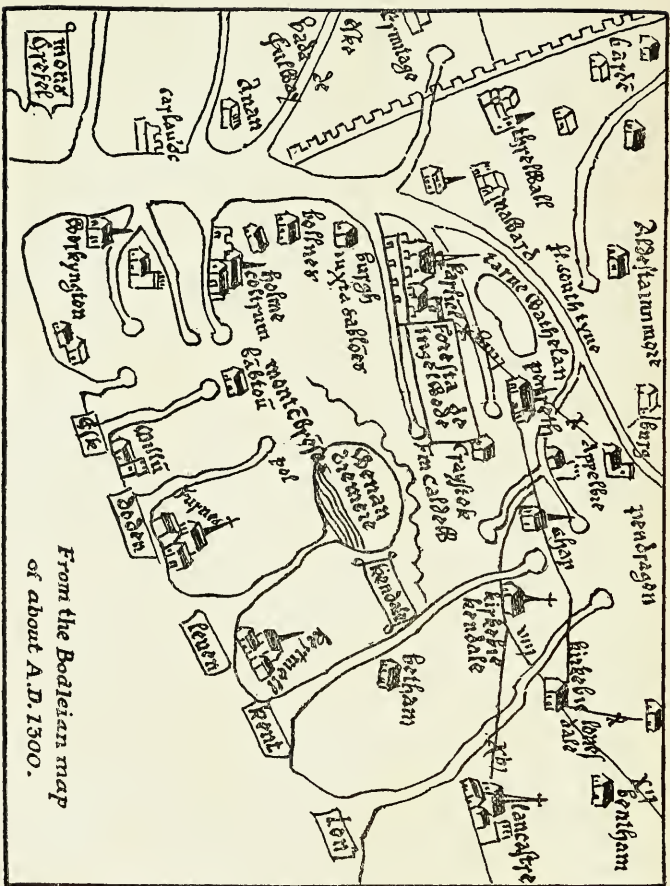
so on. The main places are shown—*Kertmell*, *Furnes*, *Millū*, *Workyngton*, *Bābtoū* (Kirkbampton), *Holme Coltrum*, *Bollness*, *Burgh iuxta sablōnes*, *Craystok*, *Appelbie* whence the road to *Penreth* is x miles. Across the Solway are *Anan*, *Carlav[er]ok*, *Mons Crefel*. The wonder is that, without means of surveying, so much was done at all: but it must not be supposed that nothing more was known.

By dated place-names we can fill in the details so far as they existed about A.D. 1300. In the following lists a few places named a little later are given, to save recurring to the subject. And although much use has been made of the works on place-names already mentioned, a certain amount is added and in some cases we are treating the explanations on our own responsibility. Many minor names are omitted as requiring fuller discussion, but the following derivations are all from Old Norse, where nothing is stated to the contrary.

GREYSTOKE BARONY. Greystoke (Creistok 1167) "crooked tree-stump." The castle was licenced for crenellation 1353: a house there no doubt earlier. The baron in 1300 was Ralph fitz William de Greystoke, governor of Berwick-on-Tweed and a warden of the Marches, who died 1316. His descendant the heiress in the 16th century married lord Dacre of Gilsland, from whom the pedigree continued to the Howards.

Airey (Ayragh 1362 in N.S. xiv, 53), "clay-pasture," *aur-hagi*.

Berrier (Bergherge 1166), "rock shieling," *berg-erg*.

Birket beck (Birk head, 1278), " birch-head beck," Middle English dialect.

Blencow (Blenco, 1231), compare Blenket in Cartmel which was (?) Welsh *Blaen-coed*, "Wood-end." Held after 1300 by Adam de Blencow, who fought in the French wars under the baron of Greystoke. Ruins of an old tower were seen in the 18th century (Nicolson and Burn, ii, 375) at Great Blencow. In the 15th century the family built a tower at Little Blencow, which grew into Blencow Hall.

Bowscale (Bowscales 1485), " farmstead huts," *ból-skálar*.

Calva (Calf-hou, 1278) a height on the Helvellyn range.

Dockwray (Dockewra, 1292), M.E. " dock-grown (or Docc's ?) corner."

Dowthwaite (1459), perhaps " field of Duff," the " Black." Dufan, the diminutive, occurs in *Landnáma*.

Flaska (Flatschow 1252), " flat wood;" *flat-skógr*.

Glencoin (Glencaine, 1212; Glenekone 1255), perhaps Welsh, "glen of reeds " (Ekwall, *Scand, and Celts*, 112).

Glenderamakin (Glenermakan, 1278), perhaps Welsh, *Glyndyfr-mochyn*, " Grisdale-river."

Glenderaterra (Glenderterray, in old boundary roll), perhaps Welsh, *glyndyfr-derw*, " oak-dale-river."

Greta (so 1278) " stony river," *Grjót-á*, earlier *Grýta*.

Hutton John (Hoton John 1363) built around a fourteenth century tower. The heiress, *temp*. Eliz., married Andrew Hudleston.

Johnby (Johanbi 1205), an old site with an Eliza-bethan hall.

Matterdale (Matherdal 1300), perhaps " dale of Maddadh," a Gaelic name in *Landnáma* with O.N. genitive in -*ar*.

Mosedale (Mosdale 1252), mossy or " boggy dale," *mos-dalr*.

Motherby (Moderbi 1282), perhaps [*As*]*mundar-býr*, " Asmund's house; " Mundi was Asmund for short.

Mungrisdale (Grisdale c. 1570), [Mungo's] " dale of pigs," *grísa-dalr*.

Murrah (Murwra 1300), " moor or mire-corner," *mýr-vrá*.

Penruddock (Penruddoc 1328) ? Welsh, *pen-rhyd-goch*, " head of the red ford."

Setmabanning (Setmabunny(n)c. 1331), apparently " seat of (the British-named) Mapbennoc."

Soulby (Suleby 1226), house of Suli or Sölvi, *Sölva-býr*.

Sparket (Sperkeheved 1244), " claim of Sparrow-hawk," *Sparrhauks-hefd*.

Stibennet (Stibanet 1278) a height north of Calva, M.E. " Bennet's ladder."

Stoddah (Stodehou 1294), " howe with a post " standing on it, *stodh-haugr*.

Thornythwaite (Thornythtwayt 1300), " thorny field," M.E.

Threlkeld (Trellekeld 1197), " thralls' well," *thræla-kelda*.

Ulcat row (Ulcot wra 1486), " Ulf's cot corner," M.E.

Ullswater (Ulleswater 1610), probably "Ulf's lake," *Ulfs-vatn* or *vatr*.

Watermillock (Wethermelock 1244) had an early chapel, destroyed by the Scots in the fourteenth century, at Old Church bay; meaning (?) "the howe grown with bent-grass of the wether," *vedhrar-melhaugr*.

DACRE BARONY (Dacore c. 730, Dacre 1211). William de Dacre was sheriff of Cumberland 1237-49, no doubt taking his name from this place and not as "D'Acre" in Palestine. The moat perhaps enclosed a manor house before the present castle. In 1307 William de Dacre was licensed to crenellate "Dunmalloght" castle, and on the hill Dunmallet within British ramparts are remains of a square stone building, perhaps of this date and abandoned for Dacre castle, begun about 1350 (J. F. Curwen, *Castles and Towers*, 269). The so called Room of the Three Kings is therefore more than 400 years later than the meeting of Æthelstan, Constantine and Owain in 926; though they probably met at Dacre abbey, which must have been in existence, to judge by the 10th century monument now in the church.

Pooley bridge (Pulhou 1257), "howe of the pool," *poll-haugr*.

Stainton (1166), "stony farm," *stein-tún*.

WESTMORLAND BARONY (Westmaringaland, A.S. Chronicle), "land of the western borderers," as regarded from Deira (Yorkshire).

Askham (Askum 1232) "at the ash-trees" either Anglian or Norse. In 1300 there was a manor-house

of de Swinburne, previously of de Helbeck. The present Hall of the Sandfords is later. The church before 1295.

Bampton (1160) perhaps "bean-farm," O.E. *béan*. "Bampton Patrick" named from Patrick de Curwen. A twelfth century church entirely rebuilt in the 18th century.

Bannerdale (Baynwicdale 1202).

Barton (1231), "barley enclosure," Anglian, Norse or later. A church in the 12th century.

Bomby (Bondeby 1339), "yeoman's house," *bónda-býr*.

Boredale (Buredale 1202). Bure is an ancient river-name, also applied to the beck of the vale of St. John in Nicolson and Burn.

Borrowdale (Borgherdal 1247), dale of the (Roman) fort, *borgar-dalr*.

Butterwick (Butterwyk 1285) "butter dairy," Anglian or Middle English; compare Keswick.

Carhullan (Carholand 1415). No British *caer* or fort is known here; perhaps M.E. "marsh of hollow ground."

Colby (Coleby c. 1140) ? "house of Kolr or Kolli."

Dove crag (1275), possibly the same as many Dow crags i.e. "dark."

Grisedale in Patterdale (Gryssedale 1425) as above.

Hallin fell (Haylin 1202).

Hartsop (Herteshop 1255), "hart's glen," M.E.

Haweswater ([H]allswater 1620) no ancient forms.

Hegdale (Hegdal late 12th cent.), "dale of the bird-cherry," *hegg-dalr*.

Helton (1241) possibly Helgi's: *Helga-tún*.

Helvellyn (Helvillon 1577, Lauvellin 1600), in Norse the " hill " (*hallr*) and in English the " law " (*hlæw*) of somebody; the name Willan occurs in Gospatrick's 11th century charter.

Knipe (Gnype c. 1160), " crag," *gnípa*.

Mardale (Merdale 1278), " border dale," *mær-dalr?* The chapel seems to date only from the 17th century.

Martindale; the chapel of St. Martin here is named in 1266.

Measand (Mesand 1413), " narrow strait," *mjósund*.

Patterdale (Patricdale 1237); the chapel of St. Patrick is not mentioned before 1581; the dale is probably named from an early owner, Patrick.

Place fell (Plessefeld 1202) post-Norse ? hill of the plesc, plash or pool. The -*ld* in *feld* is often seen in local place-names for -ll.

Racet or Rayside (Rasate c. 1199), " corner hut," *rá-sætr ?*

Rosgill (Rossegil 1255), " horsegill," *hrossa-gil*.

Setterah (Saterhou 1290), " hill of the satter," *sætr-haugr*. The moat is not Roman but of a manor house of the Lengleys family, 14-15th century.

Shap (Heppa c. 1220, Yhep 1234). Professor Ekwall (in a Swedish article of 1918) concludes that the name was O.E. *hēap*, " hill." But if *hēap* meant (as in N.E.D. s.v., and Sweet, *A.S. Dict.*) an assembly of people, compare Thengeheved (about 1200) at Shap, " meeting place of the Thing " or assembly, and Tailbert (Thannel bord 1339) which seems to be the hillside-edge, Norse *bardh*, of the *thengill*, " chief

of the Thing." So perhaps Shap was the "Thing-wall" of the Norse community.

Sharrow (Sharough 1530), "howe of the cliffs," *skara-haugr*.

Sleddale (1237), "smooth dale," *slétt-dalr*.

Staingarth (Stayngarth 1294), "stone enclosure," *steingardhr*.

Swindale (c. 1199), "pig dale," *svína-dalr*.

Thornship (Fornhep 1226), "Old Shap," *forn*, old.

Thornthwaite (1329), "thorn field," *thorn-thveit*.

Tirril (Tyrergh c. 1189), "Thyra's dairy," *Thyra-erg*. Thyri was short for Thórveig.

Trostermont (Trostormond 1301; later Cross-dormont). Professor Ekwall derives it from *tros*, perhaps "clearing," of Thormód; the name refashioned under Norman influence. The moated manor-house in the 14th century was owned by de Strickland.

Whale (Qwalle 1244), "hill," *hváll*.

Winder (Wynderwe 1245), "windy dairy-farm," *vind-erg*.

KENDAL BARONY. [This section includes High Furness]. (Cherkaby Kendale c. 1100), "dale of the Kent" (Kenet[mere] 1240) a British river-name.

Ambleside (Amelsate 1275), "shieling of Amal" or Hamel.

Applethwaite (1271), "apple field," post-Norse.

Bannisdale (Banandesdale 1301), "dale of (the Gaelic) Benén"? [For intrusive *d* compare *Anand* for Annan].

Basebrown (Basebrun c. 1300), "borran" or rough

ground " of the cow-shed," *báss*. The name also of a hill above Seathwaite in Borrowdale. Basebrown in Langdale was held by Conishead priory.

Blawith (foresta de Blawit 1270), "black wood," *blá-vidhr*. The old chapel dates before 1577.

Bow fell (Bouesfel 1242), " fell of the bow "?—see Crinkle Crags.

Bowness-on-Windermere (Bulnys 1390)? the headland where they kept a bull. The chapel-of-ease to Kendal may be late 12th century.

Bowston, Burneside (Bolteston 1235).

Brathay river (Braiza c. 1160, where z=th) " broad river," *breidh-á*.

Burneside (Brunnolvesheved 1290), " Brunolf's place."

Calgarth (Calfgarth 1365), " calf-fold."

Cartmel fell (Cartmel, so named 11th century, is thought by Professor Ekwall to mean the " rough " land, O.E. *ceart*); the chapel of St. Anthony was built 1504.

Claife (Clayf 1280), " ridge of cliffs," *kleif*.

Coniston (Conyngestun c. 1160) " king's farm," *Konungs-tún*.

Crake river (Crec c. 1160) a British river-name ? It cannot be so named from any word meaning " crooked," because it has not a winding course. Krega-burn occurs also in Shetland, where there are several ancient British river-names (Jakobsen in *Namn och Bygd*, 1922; " Gamle Elvenavne ").

Crinkle crags (Midelfel 1242) " crags that surround " the head of Langdale; *kringla*, circle.

"MATRIMONY," IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY GLASS
AT CARTMEL FELL CHURCH.

Crook (Croke 1170-84), "nook," *krókr*. The chapel is mentioned 1560.

Docker (Dockerga before 1189) perhaps Docca's *erg*, shieling.

Duddon (Dudena c. 1160). Dunnerdale (1293) "valley of the Duddon," with Norse genitive.

Elterwater (Heltrewatra c. 1160) explained by Professor Ekwall as "swan's lake," Norse *Elptarvatn or from a river-name *Elptr*.

Ernecrag, Rydal (Ernekrag 1275), "eagle's crag," M.E. In other instances of similar names "Erne" is corrupted to "Iron;" it may sometimes be O.E. *œrn*, hut.

Fairbank, Staveley (Fairhayt and Foulbarg 1256), *fögr-heidhr*, "fair heath," *fúlt-bjarg*, "foul rock."

Finsthwaite (Fynnestwait 1336), "field of Finn."

Godmond Hall, of the Godmonds from 1274: a M.E. name.

Grasmere (Grismere 1244), "lake of pigs"? the chapel is mentioned 1203.

Graythwaite (1336)? "field of the Gray man," *grár*.

Grizedale near Hawkshead (Grysdale 1336) as before.

Hawkshead (Houkeset c. 1200), "Hauk's satter."

Hoathwaite, Coniston (Holtwayt c. 1280), "hollow field," *hol-thveit*.

Hugill (Hagayl 1240), "high street," *há-geil*. Brede-strete (1256) may mean the Roman road here.

Ings (Rispetun henge 1274), "meadow of Reston," which see. Chapel mentioned 1546; present church on a new site 1743.

Kentmere (Kenetmere 1240). Medieval chapel and Tower.

Ladyholme, Windermere. St. Mary's hermitage named 1272; hospital endowed by de Lindesay c. 1256.

Langdale (Langdenelitle c. 1160), long dale (Norse) or den (English).

Leven river (Levena c. 1160), a British river name; compare Leven or Line in Cumberland.

Lickle river (Licul c. 1180). Prof. Ekwall suggests a Norse derivation meaning " loop-pool," winding stream.

Longholme, Windermere, re-named Belle Isle. Here the de Lindesays and de Coucys had a 13-14th cent. manor-house.

Longsleddale, to distinguish it from Sleddale, above. (Sleddale 1246; Sleddale Brunholf 1260, owned by the eponymus of Burneside).

Lord's crag, Rydal (Lauerdkrag 1275), boundary of the lordship of Kendal.

Loughrigg (Loghrygg 1275), " ridge of the lake," M.E. *logh*.

Lowick (Lofwic 1202). Professor Ekwall compares *Laufvik*, frequent as a place-name in Norway. But the name occurs also in Northamptonshire and Northumberland ; possibly M.E. *loft-wic* " cottage with a loft." Compare Butterwick, Keswick.

Misslett near Windermere (Micheleslett 1256), " Michael's meadow," Norse *slétta*, or " dell," M.E. *sled, slade*.

Nab, Rydal (Nab 1275), *nabbr, nabbi* : "promontory."

Nibthwaite, High and Low (Thornebuthwaite 1202, Furnebuthetwait 1522) " Old Booth-thwaite " and (Neubethwayt 1246) " New Booth-thwaite,"

Potter fell (? de Pottergh 1294), apparently a post-Norse shieling.

Ratherheath (Ratherheved 1349) " head of the edge," *rödh*, gen. *radhar*.

Reston (Rispetun 1274) ? M.E. " raspberry field," if the word *respis*, raspberries, is as old as the 13th century. The N.E.D. does not give an instance earlier than the 16th.

Rothay (Routha 1275), " red river," *raudh-á*, or " trout river," *reydhar-á*.

Rusland (Rolesland 1336), Hróald's or Hrólf's land.

Rydal (Ridale 1240), " valley of the clearing " in the forest, *rudh-dalr*: granted to Roger de Lancaster 1275, and brought by an heiress to le Fleming of Coniston 1409.

Rydal lake (Routhemere 1275), " lake of Rothay."

Sadgill, Longsleddale (1246) ? " gill of the satter."

Satterthwaite (Saterthwayt 1336), " field of the satter."

Sattury near Staveley (Saterhowe 1348), as above.

Sawrey (Sourer 1336), " sour or muddy (*erg ?*) "

Scandale, Ambleside (Scandal 1275) ? *skaun*, used of fertile meadows.

Seat Sandal (Satsondolf 1274), seat or satter of Sandulf.

Skeggles-water (Skekeleswater 1374) ? *skökull*, a cart-pole, also used as nickname.

Skelwith (Schelwath 1246), "wath or ford of the noise" of Skelwith force, according to Prof. Ekwall.

Stable Harvey, Torver (Stablehervy 1332), M.E. "cattle-shed of Hervi," a Norman name.

Staveley in Kendal (before 1200) M.E. "meadow of the (boundary) post." A chapel of St. Margaret was built by de Thweng *c.* 1338.

Strickland Ketel (Stercaland, Domesday Book); see p. 47. Part given by William II de Lancaster to Ketel in the 12th century: the other part is said by Nicolson and Burn to have been Strickland Roger before the time of the well known Roger de Lancaster.

Sweden bridge, Ambleside (le Swythene 1275) "burnt" wood, *svidhinn*.

Thurston water, i.e. Coniston Lake (Turstini watra *c.* 1160) "Thorstein's lake."

Tilberthwaite (Tildesburgthwait 1196), the field of Tilli's fort (Tillesburc *c.* 1160).

Troutbeck (Trutebeck 1262), M.E. "trout-stream."

Torver (Thorvergh *c.* 1190), "Torfi's shieling," *Torfa-erg.*

Troutal (Trutehil *c.* 1160), "trout pool," *hylr.*

Ulthwaite, Kentmere (Ulventhwaite *c.* 1272), ?"field of Ulfhédinn"; which Richard de Gylpine *c.* 1272 acquired from Peter de Brus.

Windermere (Wynandrem[ere] *c.* 1160), "lake of Vinund" with Norse genitive making *Vinandar*-mere (Ekwall, *Lancs.* 193.)

Winster (Winstirtwayts, 1246) "fields of the river

Winster" (Wynster 1577), perhaps the "stream on the left hand," *Vinstra*.

Wrynose (Wreineshals *c.* 1160), "stallion's pass," *vreina-háls* (or *vrein-hests-háls*).

Yewdale (Ywedalebec 1196), "valley of yews."

Other places in High Furness named later than 1300 though some may be of early origin, are Arklid (Arkeredyn 1539), "clearing or hillside (lyth) of the *erg*" or shieling; Arnside (Arnesyd 1535), "satter of Arni"; Bethecar (Bothaker 1509), "*erg* of Bethoc" according to Professor Ekwall; Esthwaite (Estwyth 1539) and Esthwaite water (Estwater 1537); Ickenthwaite (Yccornewayt *c.* 1535), "squirrels' field"; Wray (Wraye *c.* 1535), "corner"; and the three sheep-farms of Furness Abbey, Watersyde park, Parkamoor and Lawson park. "Kirkby Wodelands 1544," quoted by Prof. Ekwall, shows an old chapel at Woodland. The mountain names of Furness are not recorded early, except Calfhevd (*c.* 1180); The Old Man, Dow crags (there are other Dow crags in Eskdale), Fairfield, "Weatherlom" and Yewdale crag are on an 18th century map (Ekwall, *Lancs.* 193). Kernel crag seems to be an old name, the "crenellated" rock. Peel Island in Coniston water does not occur in records but it was a fortified place in which medieval pottery, millstones and traces of iron-working were found; and it is now suggested that this was the fort of Adam Beaumont and his friends who took refuge in Furness fells in 1346 and stayed there until about 1363.

COPELAND BARONY (Cauplandia *c.* 1150) "bought

land," *Kaupaland*, or Egremont (Egremunde 1218) a Norman name, also applied to a Norman castle in South Wales.

Arnaby (Arnolveby *c.* 1230), " Örnólf's house."

Birkby (Breteby *c.* 1170), " Britons' village," *Breta-býr*.

Birker (Bircherbec late 12th cent.), ? *birki-erg*, " shieling among birches."

Birks, Duddon (Birkis 1399) M.E. " birches."

Black Hall, Duddon (Black halle 1399).

Blacksail pass (Black sayl 1338) ? *sel*, mountain hut.

Boot, Eskdale (Bought 16th cent.) M.E. " sheep-fold."

Bowderdale, Wastwater (Boutherdal 1322), " dale of booths," *búdhar-dalr*.

Brandreth, height where three ancient boundaries met; *brandreidh*, tripod to carry a pot on the fire.

Burtness, Buttermere (Birknessfeld *c.* 1557), " birch headland."

Butterilket or Brotherelkeld (Butherulkul *c.* 1210; Brutherulkil and Butherulkil in the same charter 1242) looks like Norse *búdhar or brautar-ölkelda*, " bubbling well of the booths or road," or perhaps " booths of Ulfkell."

Buttermere (Butermere 1230), possibly " of the booths."

Calder (1179), a British river-name.

Crossdale, Ennerdale (Crozedal 1294), ? *Kross-dalr*.

Dalegarth was formerly Austhwaite (Auesthwayte 1255), " east field," *aust-thveit*.

Devoke water (Duvokeswater late 12th cent.),

lake of a Gaelic viking or thrall with a name like the Dufthak of *Landnámabók*.

Ennerdale (Eghnerdale 1298), valley of the Ehen (Egen 1203) a British river-name, with Norse genitive. The chapel was made parochial 1534.

Esk (Esc 12th cent.), a British river-name. Eskdale (Eschdale 1445). Esk hause (Eskhals 1242). St. Catharine's was made parochial 1445.

Gable mountain (le Heye del Mykelgavel 1338), *gafl*, gable. Beckhead between Great Gable and Kirkfell (le capud de Beksvenell 1338): Mr. W. P. Haskett-Smith explains this as "beck's *venella*," path; i.e. "Moses' trod" (see chap. IX).

Gaitscale near Cockley beck (Gaytschale 1399), "goat hut," *geita-skáli*.

Gatescarth, Buttermere. In 1209 Gatescartheheved, "top of the road-gap," was the name of Honister pass, *götu-skardh-höfdhi*.

Gillerthwaite, Ennerdale. Gillefinthor, 14th cent., "gill of Finnthor," was the name of Gillflinter beck.

Gosforth (Goseford 1292), Anglian "goose-ford."

Gowder crag (le Heye de Gouther crag 1338). The "Heye," height, was apparently Haycock, i.e. Heye-cop (Mr. Haskett - Smith, N.S. XX, 244). Perhaps Norse *galtar* (crag), "of the boar" or "hog's back."

Hardknot (Hardecnuut *c.* 1210), "rocky knoll." Another Hardknot of a 14th century boundary was at or near Starling Dodd; *hard-knútr*.

Harter fell (*c.* 1210) "hill of the stag." *hjartar-fell*.

Irt river (1294); Irton (1295), farm on the Irt, a British river-name.

Lingcove, Upper Eskdale (Luncove 1242) M.E. of the *lynn*, dell, torrent.

Linbeck, Eskdale (Lindebec, late 12th cent.) " lime-tree beck," *lindibekkr*.

Liza river, Ennerdale, and Liza beck, Grassmoor. An ancient Norse river-name was *Lysa*, " bright " river. Lingmell beck, Wasdalehead, was in 1294 Lesagh.

Loweswater (Laweswator 1188, Lausewatre *c.* 1203). The chapel existed in the 12th century and was given to St. Bees priory.

Mite (Mighet 1208); Miterdale, with Norse genitive: apparently a British river-name.

Mosedale, Upper Duddon (1210) as before.

Muncaster (Mulecaster 1235), Roman fort on the *múli*, " headland."

Ravenglass (Renglas 1208), " strip of land," *rein*, of Glas, the " Grey."

Red Pike (le Rede Pike 1338), Middle English.

Robinson, near Buttermere; part of the land bought at the Dissolution by Richard Robinson.

Santon (Samton 1247-72) ? farm of Sámr.

Satgodard (late 12th cent.) was a point above Devoke water, " seat of Godard," the name of the first Lord of Millom.

Scafell, see p. 64.

Scoat fell (le Scote 1338), marked with a " pole," *skota*. *Skota* was also a Norse nickname.

Sprinkling tarn; see p. 55.

Styhead tarn (Edderlangtern 1338, the tarn of Hederlanghals, the " long hause of the heath,"

heidhar-lang-háls, i.e. Styhead pass). " Styhead "
means " top of the sty " or stee, i.e. steep path,
dialectic from *stigi*, ladder, ascent.

Swinside, Millom (Swynesat 1241), " satter for
pigs," *svína-sætr*.

Taw house, Eskdale (Tathes 1587), " field manured
with sheep-droppings," *tedhja*.

Thackthwaite (Thactwyt 1252). If not " thatch
field " perhaps " field of thanks," **thakkarthveit*,
land given in gratitude, as opposed to Unthank, land
taken without leave.

Ulpha (Ulfhou 1337) " howe of Ulf."

Uregap, above Angle Tarn (Orscarth 1242), a
M.E. dialect name. Iron ore was brought over the
pass from Eskdale to the smelting furnace in Lang-
strath.

Wasdale (Wascedale 1231, Wastedale 1322),
" lake-dale," *vatzdalr*. Wastwater (Wassewater 1294)
was formed perhaps by forgetting the original mean-
ing and reduplicating it.

Whinfell, Lorton (Whinnefeld 1202) M.E. " fell
of whins." For the *d* see Place fell.

Windy gap, Great Gable (Windegg or le Egge 1338,
i.e. " edge ").

Yewbarrow, Wasdalehead (Youbergh, 1338). Dore
head (le Mickledor de Yowberg, 1338).

BARONY OF ALLERDALE (Alnerdal *c*. 1070) " valley
of the Ellen " or Alne, a British river name, with
Norse genitive. Aln (see Crake) is found also in
Shetland as a stream-name.

Applethwaite (Appelthweit 1222) as before. Le

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Scales in Appeltwayt and Ketel-scale-rig are named
c. 1225.

Armathwaite (Ermitethwayt 1231) M.E. "hermit's
field."

Ashness (Eschenes c. 1210), "headland of ash-
trees," *aska-nes*; a different place from Espenes
(same date) which seems to be the Esmess of 1575 and
"Isthmus" of modern maps, "headland of aspens,"
espi-nes.

Bassenthwaite (Bastenethwait 1208), possibly
Baugstein's field.

Borrowdale (Borcherdale 1209) "valley of the fort,"
i.e. Castle crag; *borgardalr*.

Brackenthwaite (Brakenthwayt 1230); the name
is frequent, probably from M.E. *braken*, fern.

Braithwaite (Bradthwait c. 1220), M.E. "broad
field."

Branthwaite (Brandweit 1228) ? "field of Brand."

Brigham or Brigholm, Keswick (Godbrigholm c.
1209; Brigholm 1246); perhaps originally Godric's
or Godbricht's holme, then the holme of a bridge over
the Greta.

Castlerigg (Castelrig c. 1210); apparently the ridge
of or adjoining Derwentwater Castle; Middle English.

Cocker (Cocur 930), a British river-name.

Crosthwaite (Crosthwayt 1249; the Crosfeld of
Jocelyn of Furness, c. 1180) "field of the cross."

Derwent (mentioned by Bede c. 730), a British
river-name.

Dock tarn, Watendlath moor (Docke terne 1209)
M.E. dialect, "pool of Docca or dock-plants."

Elva (Elfhou 1488), with a pre-historic stone circle, perhaps thought to be haunted by elves.

Embleton (Emelton 1195) " farm of Emel " or Amal. Embleton church is named *c.* 1210. The moated manor-house of the 14th century.

Fornside (Fornesate 1302), Forni's satter.

Glaramara (Glevermerhe 1209) ? " boundary-mark of chasms " *Gljúfra-merki.*

Greenop (Grenehope 1209), " green dell."

Harrop (Harhop *c.* 1280), " higher dell," *hæri-hóp.*

Hestholm now Derwent Island (Hestholm before 1216) " horse island," *hest-hólmr.*

Keswick (Kesewic *c.* 1240) M.E. " cheese dairy." There is no creek to justify a Norse derivation from *vik,* nor does the place seem to have been an early settlement.

Langfit in Embleton (*c.* 1200) *fit,* " meadow."

Langstrath (Langstrothe 1209) ? Welsh *ystrad,* " valley," or Norse *stordh,* " wood."

Latrigg (Laterayheved *c.* 1252). If Latterbarrow contains the Norse *látr,* " lair," perhaps Latrigg is " the ridge of the lair " of wolves. The earlier name may mean " lair-corner-head."

Legberthwait (1302), compare Legbarrow near Greenodd.

Lodore (Laghedure 1209), the " lower gap " in the ridge between Watendlath and Borrowdale; Middle English.

Longthwaite in Borrowdale (Longtwhayte 1209), Middle English dialect.

Lorton (1198) ? " meadow garth," *ljár-tún.*

Lyzzick (Losaikes 1220, ? for Les aikes) M.E. "the Oaks."

Mosser (Mosergh 1298), "shieling on the moss," *mos-erg*.

Portinscale (Portquenescales *c.* 1210), "huts of the 'port-queans'."

Rosthwaite (apparently Butherthwaite 1209, "field of booths"), perhaps "horse field" or like Rusland.

St. John's in the Vale seems to be the "house of St. John" *c.* 1220, i.e. of the Hospitallers. The Castle Rock, on which is the ruin of a small building, was Castelyndolf or Casteliadolf 1278; i.e. "castle of Ljotolf or Eadulf." The Greta in this valley was called the Bure 1777.

Scawdale (Scaldale 1209); "valley of the scale," *skála-dalr*.

Setmurthy (Satmerdoc 1250), "seat or satter of Murdoch." There was a chapel here in 1250.

Shoulthwaite (Heolthwaitis *c.* 1280), "wheel fields," *hjól-thveitar*.

Skiddaw (Skithoc 1231, Skythouc 1232)? shooter's hill, *skytja-haugr*.

Smathwaite (Smatwayt 1245) ? "little field," *smá-thveit*.

Stonethwaite (Stainthwait 1209), "stony field."

Thirlspot (Thurlspot 1777); Thirlmere (Thyrlemere 1574) ? of Thórhallr or Thórhildr; or Brackmere (1777) or Leathes water from the family at Dalehead.

Thornthwaite (Tornthayt *c.* 1211), as above. The chapel founded *c.* 1240.

Ullock (Ulvelayk 1245) ? " wolves' playing-place," *úlfa-leikr*, or beck, *úlfa-lækr*.

Uzzicar (Huseker *c.* 1210) ? *húsa-kjarr*, "marsh of the houses."

Wanthwaite (Wandethwayt 1379): *vánd-thveit* would be " bad field "; *vand-thveit* would be " choice field."

Watendlath (Wattentundelau 1209) ? the *vatn* or water of some—perhaps British—name like " Tundelau."

Wythburn (Withebotine *c.* 1280), the " bottom (dale-head) of the wood," *vidha-botn*.

Wythop (1285), " glen of the wood," *vidha-hóp*; to about 1300 owned by de Lucy, then by de Lowther.

VI.—ENGLISH AND SCOTS.

THIS was not always the " English Lake district ";
in fact it was never English at all, by race or
government, until far on in the middle ages. William
the Conqueror had nothing to do with it; and his
sons, we have seen, gave pieces of it away—" on
paper "—but never ruled it. King Stephen made
it over to David, King of Scots, who died in 1153 at
Carlisle.

Then follows a confused tale which really belongs
to schoolbook history, and does not much display the
actual circumstances of life in the dales; for all these
political vicissitudes passed over the heads of the
people. They probably heard very little of great
folk's claims and counterclaims. And yet in the end
politics did affect even these mountain-fastnesses,
and so cannot be entirely unnoticed by us who look
back on the times.

King David's successor, Malcolm IV, gave up
Cumberland and Westmorland to Henry II, but the
Scots still regarded these lands as lost provinces,
their *irredenta*. William the Lion invaded in 1173
and 1174 to " redeem " them, but failed. Richard
Cœur-de-Lion, wanting peace for his crusading,
proposed to give up Cumberland and Northumberland
as the price; but John would not carry out the
proposal. When the barons rose against him in 1216,

many of them offered their allegiance to young
Alexander II, who tried to secure Cumberland and
Westmorland by devastating them. But when the
party of Henry III gained the upper hand in 1217,
Carlisle had to be given up by the Scots.

This did not finish the business, for the Scots still
regarded these north-western provinces of England
as south-western parts of Scotland by right of ancient
possession, and in 1242 an arrangement was made to
satisfy the Scottish king personally, if it satisfied
nobody else. He received six Inglewood manors
in which no castles were, to hold by yearly homage and
a goshawk paid to the captain of Carlisle, in considera-
tion of his surrendering all further claims. By this
scheme the peace of the Border was secured for forty
years. Then the death of Alexander III (1285)
brought to an end the dynasty to which the grant had
been made, and the manors of Inglewood reverted to
the English crown. The next stage was that of the
competition for the crown of Scotland and the
intervention of Edward I between Bruce and Balliol.

When Edward I died at Burgh-by-Sands near
Carlisle in 1307, and was followed by a weak govern-
ment, king Robert Bruce began the long series of raids
which were at once a retaliation for English invasion
and an attempt to regain what the Scots thought was
theirs. The raids started in 1311. Bannockburn
was fought in 1314, and in 1316 the Scots wasted the
country as far as Furness, " where they had not come
before." In 1319 they invaded Shap, and in 1322
Robert Bruce made his great incursion round the west

coast of Cumberland to Furness and Lancaster,
returning by Westmorland.   At this time perhaps the
fight took place which seems a tradition of Millom,
where Scots Croft is pointed out as the scene.   In
1323 Andrew de Harcla tried to arrange matters with
Bruce, for which he lost his earldom and was executed
as a traitor: but Edward II after this piece of
judicial vengeance himself offered Cumberland to the
Scots in return for assistance against his own queen.
On the death of Edward II the Scots invaded again,
and the young king Edward III released them from all
claims formerly made by English kings, meaning
Edward I who, basing on what his ministers took to
be history, demanded the homage of Scotland.   In
spite of this, war broke out again in 1332; in 1337
Allerdale and Copeland were ravaged; in 1345 Penrith
was burnt; and in 1355 there was another invasion,
to which Edward III, now grown to his power, replied
in such a way as to stop further mischief until long
after his death—until indeed Richard II had found
his throne shaken by the revolt of Wat Tyler and the
peasants and by the beginning of failure to English
arms in France.   With a French contingent the Scots
overran Cumberland and Westmorland in 1383.

   This Edwardian age was the period of the castles
and pele-towers, built in stone, as refuges from the
Scots.   The raids were usually sudden and short;
the raiders had no time to sit down before a building
they could not either rush or burn; and the English—
such is their character at all times—were slow in
learning how to take care of themselves but succeeded

in the end. We need not name the castles and towers* all over the Lake Counties; it is enough to note those within or on the fringe of our circle, and to observe how few such places ever existed in the fell-dales.

In the year 1307 William de Dacre received the king's licence to crenellate or embattle and fortify his mansion of Dunmalloght, and probably *did* fortify Dacre castle soon afterwards. Wythop Hall was a mansion in 1315 of Christiana, widow of John de Lucy; in 1318 a licence to crenellate it was granted to Hugh de Lowther. Muncaster castle dates from about 1325 and Millom 1335. Lowther castle (before its rebuilding in 1802-8) was of about 1350. Greystoke was licenced 1353. The tower of Sockbridge hall was built about 1375. For Penrith castle licences were issued in 1397 and 1399. Kentmere and Burneside towers, according to Mr. Curwen, date from the 14th century; and the moat protecting the manorhouse of Embleton and that at Peel near the foot of Crummockwater seem to be of that period.

Early in the century the de Coucys and indeed earlier still the de Lindesays had a manorhouse on the Long Island in Windermere, defensible by its position: that of the Radcliffes on Lord's Island in Derwentwater was later, but we do not know when it was founded. Nor do we know the date when the de Lancasters or le Flemings perched themselves on the steep howe of Rydal Old Hall, but it was evidently

*For details see Mr. J. F. Curwen's *Castles and Towers of Cumberland and Westmorland* (T. Wilson, Kendal, 1913).

for defence.* Askham Hall in the 15th century was strengthened by some massive building: whether an earlier tower existed is debated by antiquaries (N.S. xxi, 223 ; xxiii, 438). Godmond Hall near Burneside and Ubarrow Hall in Longsleddale appear to be fifteenth century, and it is said there are traces of a tower at Millbeck Hall near Keswick, perhaps of that period. Coniston Hall was built late in the 16th century, but there was certainly an earlier house, of which the ruins may be traced under the turf. And finally Ulpha Old Hall, imitating a pele tower but of a later type, seems to be of the 16th century. The Old Hall at Hawkshead was always a monastic grange, and the Halls at Graythwaite are not known to have been fortified at all, though founded before the union of Scotland and England.

This review of the sites suggests very strongly that Scottish medieval raids hardly touched the Lake district proper. Greystoke and neighbourhood were of course exposed to any attacks that reached Penrith by the old main road through Inglewood; Burneside and Longsleddale might suffer when Kendal was attacked; the Penningtons of Muncaster woke up after the great coastal raid of 1322, which disturbed all the south fringe of the district and set them to building towers. But if Kentmere tower is 14th century it must mean only that the Gilpins, like others of the resident gentry, followed the counsel of caution; for it is very unlikely that any Scots got into Kentmere. There is indeed the story told by Clarke in

* E.g. in a family feud and raid c. 1439 (Farrer, *Kendale*, ii, 23).
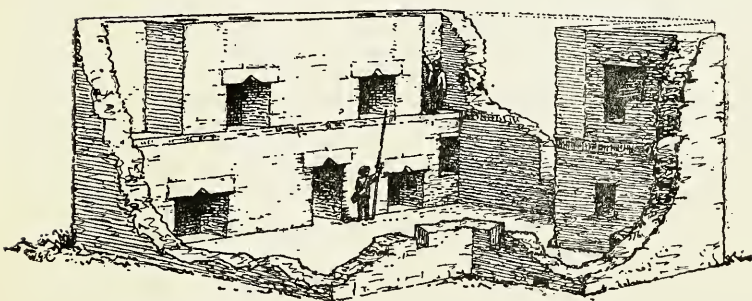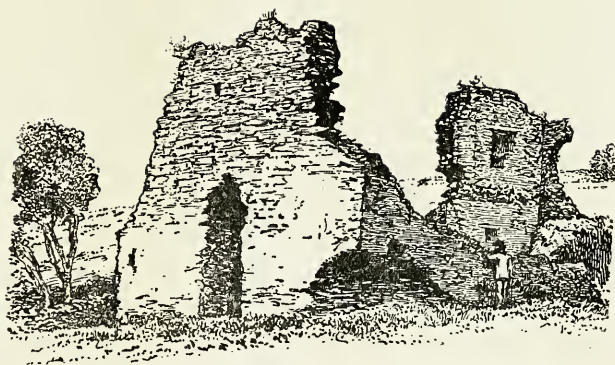
ULPHA OLD HALL.

View and diagram of interior.

his *Survey of the Lakes* (1785) about Hugh Hird, the giant of Troutbeck, shooting Scots with his arrows as they came down the Scots' Rake; but for a party of Scots to travel the High Street from Brougham, all the way up and down the weary moors to Troutbeck, for the little they would find, and considering the trap they would be in when they got there, is contrary to the plan and spirit of the raids, which were mainly for plunder on the easiest terms.

In lowland Cumberland the villages were surrounded with ramparts. Traces can still be seen, or the memory is preserved, of dykes round Dalston and Rose Castle, round Ainstable, Salkeld, Penrith (where so late as 1601 the townsmen were called out to mend the defences); and in Westmorland the valley of Borrowdale was so protected. The only openings to these stockaded earthworks were the Barras gates, strongly trenched and manned by the village folk in time of need. But within the fells there are no such earthworks known, nor are any of the dale chapels furnished with towers of strength as at Salkeld church and Burgh-by-Sands. If raiding parties ever penetrated to the lakes, the inhabitants would find easy refuge in the fells and woods: but the fact seems to be that there was too little to be got to tempt the Scots. At any rate there are no signs that the peace of the inner dales was so disturbed.

On the other hand, the wars of the Roses and the anarchy of that time weakened the hand of justice, and consequently the fifteenth century was a period of local feuds, hardly traceable before, since the time

when the Norse settlers, like their cousins in Iceland,
may have indulged in the excitement of burning
one another in.   Some curious details are given by the
Rev. F. W. Ragg (N.S. xxi, 187-191) of the quarrels
between families on the eastern side of the district—
between the Sandfords of Askham and their neigh-
bours especially—and how each party collected a
body of paid retainers among the yeomen to support
them.   In 1468 " Thomas of Sandforth of Askom
esquiere " engaged " William of Bradle[y] of Gnyp,
yoman," for 13s. 4d. a year to " take treu and
ffeythful part with the said Thomas os oft os he maks
the said William sufficient warnyng, against all maner
of men except ye Soveran lord the Kyng."   In 1470
he engaged Henry Walker of Butterwyk crag and his
sons to be " trow men and servands " and " take part
in pease and were [war] during thaire life and before
all oder except ye Kyng and Yaire land lorde " and
never to be " servands nor tenants to Jhone Salkeld
nor take his parte."   And if it ever be proved that the
said " Henry Walker or hys childyr wos at the
betyng of Wyll Wylkynson in Butterwyk or breking
of his house or off ye housys of Wyll Nobyll or Sand-
gate or consented thereto " they are to abide Thomas
Sandford's award.   The yeoman too had their feuds;
in 1469 the Gybsons of Bampton Grange and the
Bacsters of Bampton had to be pacified by Sir
Thomas Curwen and Thomas Sandford.   Such
quarrels, though we have not the same details for
other parts, must have been going on pretty generally
at this time; and in this we may find the need for
defensive houses even where no Scots intruded.

And indeed after the beginning of the 15th century Scots raids were apparently at an end except on the actual Border. Edward IV made a truce with Scotland in 1463 and appointed his brother the duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) warden of the West Marches. At Perkin Warbeck's rebellion James IV tried to help the insurgents by ravaging the Border, but peace was re-made. Flodden was fought in 1513 and the Lake District sent its contingents, for all the men of the northern counties were liable to Border service of old, and this was the main reason for the curiously light terms on which they held their farms as the sequel shows (chapter VIII). It is usually believed that they were called out by the beacon-fires, of which there was a system mentioned in 1468, but no doubt existing earlier. The beacon-sites named within the district are Skiddaw, Hardknot, Coniston Old Man and Blawith fell, of which those on the higher mountains can hardly have been effective at short notice or in cloudy weather. Round about the lower country there were good lines of communication for the fires; in 1322 Furness Abbey had beacons at Rampside and on a hill to east (High Haume) but within the dales they can have been of little use. If the lake dalesmen were called out, as no doubt they were on greater occasions, it must have been by other means. The rapidity of the transmission of news in thinly populated parts often gives surprise; and though in the thirteenth century large spaces were wild forest, by the fifteenth and sixteenth there was little ground left inaccessible, and tidings would fly fast from one farm to another.

Two periods of local disturbance broke the peace of the dales in the sixteenth century, neither of them to be blamed on the Scots. In 1536-7 the Pilgrimage of Grace, otherwise called Aske's rebellion, seems to have found adherents even in remote Hawkshead; and the Rising of the North (1569) carried many of the tenants of the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland with it, in the movement to rescue the Queen of Scots, upset Queen Elizabeth and restore the ancient religion. But there was no fighting here: the battle which ended so disastrously for the rebels was fought near Gelt bridge in north-eastern Cumberland.

With the accession of James I the Scottish wars were at an end, but local memory, even in England, is tenacious. Otherwise, how should it be a proverb in Furness that "Nowt good comes round Black Combe"? It is a long step back to 1322, when Robert Bruce came that way with fire and sword. And yet it is a remarkable and interesting fact that even in the periods of greatest animosity between the two kingdoms travellers came and went across the border and Scots settled in England. Holm Cultram abbey had possessions north of the Solway ; clerics went to and fro between the monastic houses of both countries; Scottish monks visited their English brethren and settled in English monasteries. As to general travelling, a celebrated Burgundian, Sir Guilbert de Lannoy, having accomplished his errand to the king of Scots, journeyed in 1430 from Dumfries to Carlisle and Lancaster on his way to

Ireland (N.S. xxi, 46). In 1435 Aeneas Sylvius
Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II, came back
from Scotland into Cumberland and wrote a curious
account of the people he found on Solway side (N.S.
xxiii, 17).

Many names of residents in these parts in the middle
ages betray a Scottish origin, and of course there
were Scots in Southern England long before King
James brought them.   An amusing example is quoted
by Mr. G. W. Shirley (Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Transactions, 1923) of two Dumfriesians who went in
1382 to London and were (in every sense) taken in by
a countryman of their own, in business there as a
hosier.   He and Alice his wife, " by deceitful and false
words made the said John and William enter their
house on Thursday, the feast of St. Stephen (Boxing
day), where by false dice and *joukerie* the same
Richard won of them 40s. and a knife, value 4s."
Nothing daunted, the strangers brought him up
before the Lord Mayor, and not only recovered their
loss, with damages, but got Richard put in the pillory
at Newgate on three several days, with the loaded
dice hung round his neck, to the sound of trumpets
and pipes.

Medieval law in England was no respecter of
persons and did justice to the stranger.   All the
same, a few months later the Scots were plundering
Cumberland and Westmorland.

VII.—EARLY INDUSTRIES.

IT may be taken for an axiom that nobody ever could make a decent living in the Lake District by agriculture pure and simple. In early times, wants were few. Housing in a wattle-and-daub cot, knocked up with the help of neighbours in an odd day's work, was easy if not comfortable. Clothes were made on the spot. Victuals were something like the supper described at the grandest house in western Iceland in 997 (*Eyrbyggja Saga* ch. xlv) after the battle of Alptafjord, when " they had curds and cheese for their meal," or they got porridge (ch. xxxix), fish and flesh: and the same always, only varied with scarcity. There was, however, nothing to pay in rent, rates and taxes before the Normans came in; and when they did, there was something to be had by deer-poaching, which made matters more even. Indeed the earliest industry was robbery: Iceland was wealthy in the Viking Age and poor when piracy ceased to flourish. So no doubt the first settlers had no need of other industries to eke out their incomes.

But under the Cistercians, about whom we know more in detail than we do about the domestic habits of the secular lords, we gather that the natives were set to work, and earned wages in return. Not that times were always plentiful, even then. In 1212 and

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next year Furness Abbey got leave from the king to load a ship with corn and malt in an Irish port and bring it to these parts, which argues hard times. We can only hope the tenants shared the cargo, for on the whole and from all we gather, the monks were good landlords; at any rate their lands flourished.

One of their chief industries was wool, and perhaps this was suggested by the acquisition of Furness fells and their shepherd inhabitants. In the early 13th century, as we have seen, they spent over £150 in buying Borrowdale, another sheep-pasture; in 1242 they acquired upper Eskdale, good for nothing but sheep, and in 1250 they paid £600 for the sheep pasture of Newby in Craven. This shows a definite intention on the part of the Abbey to make an income out of wool. That they were keen business men in the matter is proved by the complaint of the merchants of the Staple at Calais in 1423, who made an application to the English parliament to punish the Abbot of Furness for evading the customs by landing cargoes of wool in Flanders. The instance given is a load of about 400 " sarplers " (big sacks) of wool shipped from *le Peele de Foddray*, the port of Barrow-in-Furness: and this had been done for five years past. The wool came partly from the sheepcotes of Water-park, Parkamoor and Lawson park in Furness fells, and obviously the tenants found employment in raising it, over and above their local agriculture.

What the sheep were like has often been debated. It is usually assumed that they were the Herdwick sheep we still see on the fells, and these were practic-

ally the (aboriginal ?) sheep found on the Færoes by the Norse settlers, who therefore called that group by this name, meaning the "Sheep-isles." In support the tradition is related of a parent flock from a wrecked Norse ship on the Cumberland coast, the date of which is not given. What Clarke wrote in the *Survey of the Lakes* (1785) is that " the inhabitants of Nether Wasdale say they were taken from aboard a stranded ship." The sheep " take the stormy side of the mountain, which saves them from being overblown [with snow]. This valuable instinct was first discovered by the people of Wasdalehead . . . . They, to keep this breed as much as possible in their own village, bound themselves in a bond that no one of them should sell more than five ewe lambs in one year," but " all the shepherds now have either the whole or half breed of them." This looks like a comparatively modern development, though the local breed of sheep must have been a hardy one from early times. One thing we know; that the wool was coarse, for the statute of 1389, describing Kendal cloth, recites that " a great part is made of the worst wool within the realm " ; and it fetched the lowest price of any in England, as assessed for the royal aid in 1337 and later (Sir S. H. Scott, N.S. xxii, 87).

During the rule of the Abbey it does not appear that weaving was carried on for exportation. No doubt the tenants spun and wove as much as they wanted for themselves; but the great development of the loom and spinning-wheel only began here when Kendal clothiers increased their business in the 16th

century and their agents travelled from farm to farm, taking up the produce of the home industry.

Fishing no doubt was one of the primitive employments, for we find net-sinkers frequently in British village-sites and on the shores of the tarns, deep enough in the soil to show that they are ancient. To the abbeys it must have been important, considering the demand for fish in fasting-times. In 1240 William III de Lancaster, who shared Coniston water with Furness Abbey, granted the monks leave to have a small boat (*modicum batellum*) and twenty nets on Thurstainwater and the like on Winendremer. The fisheries were reckoned as property of the lords of the manors and rented accordingly. For example in 1283 Grasmere was worth 6d. a year, Rydal water 18d.; in 1453 there was no tenant for the fishery of Grasmere and so the king, in whose hand the manor was at the time, lacked 2s.; but Rydal water brought 2s. 2½d. and the Rothay 4d. A fisherman of the 13th century might be a substantial tenant; William the fisher held a good piece of land at the head of Bassenthwaite lake from the rector of Crosthwaite, and Peter the fisher, about the same time, lived somewhere near ' Scippelending ' or Ship-landing on the same shore: this we learn from charters to Fountains Abbey, which then (about 1230) had a fishery in the Derwent. Indeed all available waters by that time were methodically fished.

What was caught is not usually stated, but we know that in the 17th century there were " store of fish, as pikes, perch, trouts and eeles " in Rydal water.

Sir Daniel Fleming also thought that trout went up the Rothay and char up the Brathay to breed. "The owners of Rydal Hall [himself, that is] scarce ever get any trouts in Brathey or Case [char] in Routhameer

LAKE FISHING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
BY JOST AMMAN

[Rydal water]." Miss Armitt (*Rydal*, 281) says, "The char is believed to be extinct in Ullswater, but is found in Windermere, Coniston, Haweswater,

Crummock, Buttermere, Ennerdale and Wastwater."
Sir Daniel distinguished the *case* and the *char*, but
it seems that what he called *case* and others the gilt
char is only the ordinary state of the fish, which shows
a bright crimson belly before spawning and then is
" red char." How it comes to be in our lakes has
been explained by the story that the monks introduced
it; the foundation for this story is not stated. Even
in the 17th century the making and exporting of
" charre-pyes " or potted char was an industry; and
after the middle of the 19th century fishing with nets
on Windermere went on in the ancient fashion and
was still remunerative. The cause of the failure, or
apparent failure, of fish in the lakes we leave to
scientists; but there are those who say with a smile
" There's fish for them that knows how to take them."

Among ancient industries we can hardly reckon the
hunter's craft, except so far as it provided employ-
ment for dependents of the owners of deer parks; and
they were many. Even at the smaller mansion-
houses like Coniston and Ulpha, still more on great
estates, deer were kept. All higher Ennerdale was
a deer forest late in the 17th century, as Edmund
Sandford relates ; so was Wasdale ; and the herd of
Martindale forest was famous in the 18th century.
During the war of 1914-18 a number of escaped deer
roamed wild in Furness Fells where there are great
plantations, and sometimes came down to play havoc
with crops; but the countryside took measures with
the picturesque plagues, and the event was a kind of
antiquarian excursion to any who cared to know what

it was like to farm or garden in the neighbourhood of the ancient deer-parks.

Wood-working of various kinds was naturally a forest business. The Norse, who did not build in stone, were great wood-carvers, and already in the ninth century could execute elaborate and wonderful lace-work of the chisel, shown by the Tune ship and other remains now only to be seen in the museums of Scandinavian towns. There may have been something traditional in this way, surviving in the aptitudes of the dale-folk who carved oak panels for their furniture and knitting-sticks (N.S. xvii, 88) in the style and spirit of their forefathers. But that came no sooner than the 17th century, so far as we know. Earlier it would hardly seem that there was leisure for art in the busy and hard life of the medieval dalesman.

A little light is let in by the mention in 1537 of the yearly profit to Furness Abbey from " Grenehewe, Basting, Blecking, bynding, making of sadeltrees, cartwheles, cuppes, dishes and many other things wrought by Cowpers and Turners, with making of Coles, and pannage of Hoggs." In 1512 the lath-splitting at Hawkshead in the garth of the manor house (Hawkshead Hall) was granted to Thomas Dowling ; but how far back these industries went is uncertain. In quoting the 1537 report, Mr. H. S. Cowper (*Hawkshead*, 275) explains " bynding " as cooper's work generally; " bastyng " as the manufacture of coarse matting from bark rind, or basket and " swill " making; " bleching " as bleaching or drying

the bark: and " sadeltrees " were especially the framings of the packsaddles " on which nine-tenths of all merchandise must have been carried." Not all, for there are pretty frequent notices of carts, from the time when the Calder monks in 1138 went to York with their clothes and books in a waggon drawn by eight oxen, to the day when Daniel Hechstetter and family (1572) set out from London to Keswick in a carriage. Indeed the making of " Cart wheles " indicates as much, though they were mostly for farm carts. It is interesting to find that the lathe was in use in the dales before the end of Abbey rule. Later on, when bobbins were required for the now old-fashioned looms, turning became a great employment whenever water-power existed to drive the simple machines.   .

" Grenehewe " was the payment to the lord of the manor for the right to cut branches of trees, such as evergreens for fodder in winter. In High Furness there was much cutting of coppice for basket work, tanners' bark and charcoal-burning. In the woods on the eastern side of Coniston water the woodmen still cut, every dozen years or so, shoots of great stubs so enormous as to suggest that they are the same that were cut by the Abbey workmen— never in hundreds of years allowed to become full-grown trunks. Late in the 17th century there were no full-topped trees in Coniston valley except one at Robin Wray, near the present steamboat pier; and there are still great boles of oaks with a crown of small branches which seem to be the very trees that

were pollarded before the tenants bought the wood from the lord of the manor over a hundred years ago.

Iron-working must have been known from quite early times in Furness because the name Orgrave, more ancient than Domesday Book, meant a mine in Anglo-Saxon, and probably was given as soon as the hematite was found—and that could not have taken long to discover. In 1235 Furness Abbey had a dispute about the place, from which it appears that iron-mines there had already been given to the monks. In 1282 they got iron-mines in Alliscales close by. In 1292 the net profits from iron-working, less expenses, were returned as nearly one sixth of the total income of the Abbey from temporalities—that is, not counting the revenue from tithes and offerings connected with the churches it held. In 1400 the Abbey got a grant of the iron ore in 400 acres in Dalton, Orgrave and Martin. Conishead Priory also had a grant of the iron ore in Plumpton and of the dead wood in Blawith to make charcoal for the smelting; also land to build a forge, that is, smelting-works.

Now the map is dotted with sites where iron-slag is found, and on some of these the ruins of small round structures have been exposed in digging, as as at Springs, south of Coniston Hall, (O.S. xv, 211). At Nappingtree, further down the same lake shore, the remains of a little furnace can still be seen. These bloomeries or bloomsmithies are not found only in the Furness fells but on the shore of Windermere and in Eskdale and Wasdale; there is one at

the foot of Langstrath where Greenop gill joins the
main stream, and there is a slag-heap on the little
island of Rampsholme in Derwentwater. With the
hearth and the slag ancient nails have been found,
which probably served in the woodwork of the trough,
water-wheel and bellows for the blast. The slag is
usually heavy, and far from thoroughly smelted;
indeed there is very little difference, in the specimens
at the Coniston Museum, between those of local sites
and one from the ancient site in Iceland, where accord-
ing to the saga Grettir the Strong is said to have
worked in the tenth century. The later smelting
works at Cunsey and Coniston Forges (before 1650)
mentioned by Sir Daniel Fleming, are of a different
and more advanced character; from which it may
be concluded that these little bloomeries were medie-
val. In Furness they were worked by the tenants
of the abbey, which sent the ore from Dalton up the
valley to the wooded dale where charcoal was more
easily made. The Langstrath bloomery too was a
Furness or Fountains Abbey venture, and it is
supposed that the ore was got in Eskdale and carried
over the " Orscarth " (Uregap).

At the Dissolution, Furness Abbey was making no
profit on its iron: probably using it all for its own
purposes and for its tenants. The woods in Furness
fells were let in 1537 to William Sandys and John
Sawrey to maintain three smithies or smelting works,
the sites of which we do not know, but perhaps
Cunsey was one. In 1565 all the bloomeries in Fur-
ness were suppressed in order that the woods might

AUTOGRAPH OF DANIEL HECHSTETTER.

Photo. by R.G.C.

To face p. 123.

be no further destroyed. The reason for this appears when one remembers that it was the time when the new Company of Mines Royal was being set on foot, to exploit the mines of the Lake District for the benefit of the Crown; and it was only after this monopoly had ceased that iron smelting was resumed —at Coniston by 1650; by 1709 at Hacket near Colwith where they smelted ore got from Wetherlam and in Langdale; and by 1750 at four big "forges"—Backbarrow, started 1710, Cunsey, Sparkbridge and Coniston. In 1752 the Rawlinsons, Fords and Knotts of this district, finding that the supply of charcoal failed, transferred their works to the Scottish Highlands and carried on operations at Bunawe.

The Company of Mines Royal was founded in 1564 by an agreement between Queen Elizabeth on the one part and Thomas Thurland (Master of the Savoy and an English clergyman with an interest in technology) and Daniel Hechstetter on the other part. Of the 24 shares two were taken by Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley), two by the Earl of Leicester, eleven by Haug, Langnauer and Co., of Augsburg, for for whom Hechstetter was agent, and the rest by a few London city men. Its object was to "search, dig, try, roast and melt all manner of mines and ores of gold, silver, copper and quicksilver," and the Queen was to have one tenth of the gold and silver, a royalty on other metals and "the preferment in bying of all Pretious stones or pearl to be found in the working of these mines." Next year some 40 or

50 "Almaynes" were announced as arriving in July at Newcastle and the Privy Council wrote to the Mayor to receive them "curtesly" and pass them on to Keswick. There are traditions that these foreigners were not welcomed, but assaulted and even massacred at Keswick, but these stories are without confirmation. As a matter of fact the Tyrolese and Styrian miners very soon married Cumberland girls and their daughters married local men; in many cases their children and descendants turned out extremely well. The Rawlinsons of Grizedale were one of these mixed families—producing a Lord Mayor of London whose sons were celebrated scholars. The Nicholsons of Hawkshead Hall, the Banks's of Keswick, the Tullies of Carlisle, all profited by this mixture of blood and became parents of seventeenth century celebrities. These indeed came from the leaders of the German miners; the children of their workmen were not so brilliant, but in cases where we can trace them, as in the Puthparkers or Puchbergers of Coniston and Hawkshead, it is evident that they flourished for several generations and made good.

In 1567 difficulties arose with the Earl of Northumberland, in whose land the mines lay. He complained that the miners were trespassing on his property, and the Queen answered him in a rather highhanded style. The fact was that the Queen expected silver and gold, which would be hers, by law, wherever it was got. The miners were interested in making copper, and found it: but this by law would be the Earl's. They were directed to find precious metals,

and did their best; and in 1568 matters came to a
great trial at law between the Earl and the Queen;
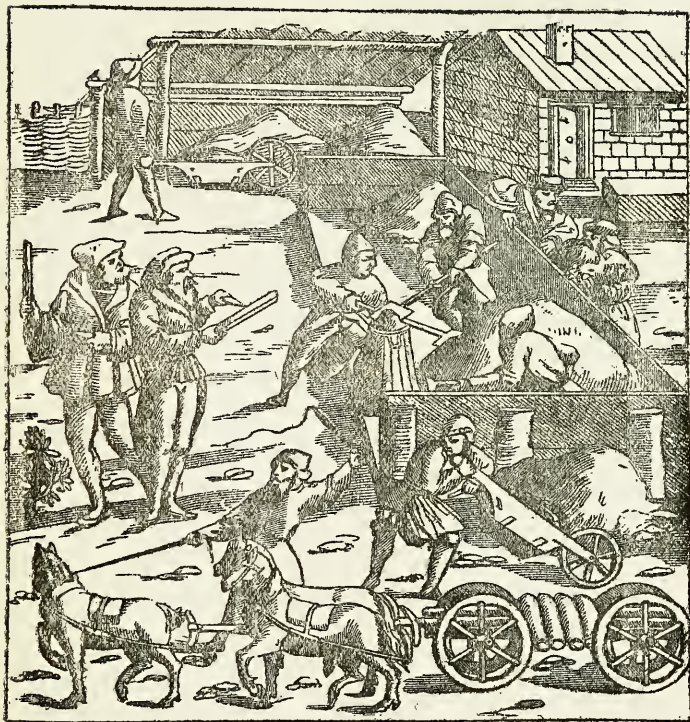
SORTING THE ORE
From Munster's "Cosmographia," 1552

all the judges and the barons of the Exchequer were
engaged in the case and a majority decided that there
was more silver and gold in these mines than copper

and lead, and so the Queen was within her rights in claiming them ! It was a miscarriage of justice, too characteristic of Tudor and Stuart times, and a fatal one; for the Earl, already influenced in favour of Mary, Queen of Scots, engaged in the Rising of the North, which was the ruin of so many old families and their dependents along with their leader.

Meanwhile the Germans prospected for copper and set up their works at Brigham near Keswick; opened out the Gottesgab (corrupted to Goldscope) mine at Newlands and many more, such as the old level above Thirlspot on Helvellyn and, near the end of the century, at Coniston. They bought Derwent Isle and made their headquarters there. They employed great numbers of the Lake district people either as miners or sorters or builders, in quarrying, timber cutting and charcoal-burning; and spent great sums in wages, only to find that when they were in a position to put copper on the market there was no demand. The Government wanted a little copper for casting cannon; there was not even a copper coinage to supply, and the failure to produce gold and silver destroyed all enthusiasm in high quarters for this venture. The Germans were left to shift for themselves. They set up shops for the beating of copper pots and dishes, but there was very little sale for this new-fangled kind of utensil. Export abroad was attempted but customs-regulations made it impossible. And so the miners struggled on until the Commonwealth abolished the royal monopoly and the works at Keswick were destroyed by Parliamentary troops, probably in 1648.
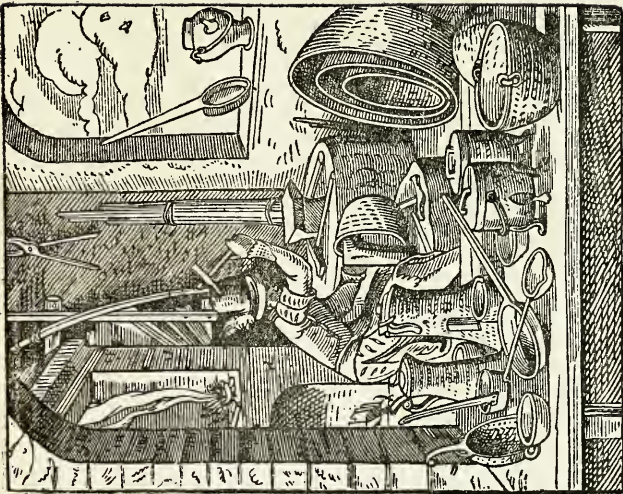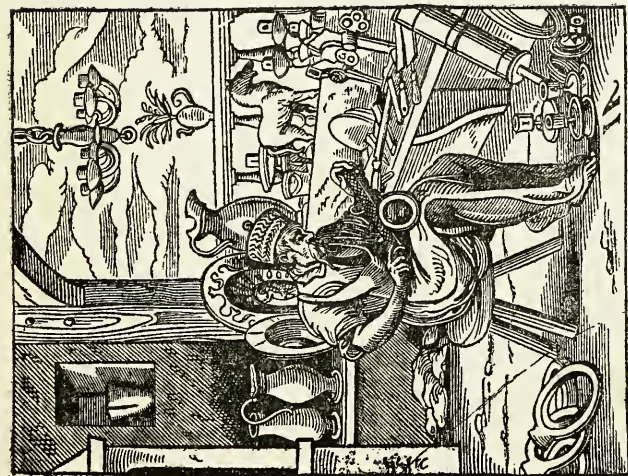
SIXTEENTH CENTURY COPPERSMITHS, after Jost Amman.

And yet for about 80 years this German company
had been a perfect Godsend to the Lake District.
With the fall of the abbeys most of the industrial
employment, on which the dalesmen depended to
eke out a living, had been lost. The thirty years that
followed the Dissolution had been a very hard time;
one sees this from the diminution of population,
which can be observed in some cases from records.
Then came the Germans, with ample funds, more
than half supplied from Augsburg, and they lavished
money on the district. In 1600 an enquiry showed
that in 36 years the Northern mines had paid £4,500
to the Queen, and made, besides, £68,103 by the sale
of metal, against the disbursement of £104,709 *plus*
a capital outlay of £27,000; and this must be reckoned
at about ten times the present post-war value of
money. Much of that big sum had gone into the
pockets of the Lake district folk.

Among the dales that profited most were Keswick,
Caldbeck, Newlands, St. John's Vale and Borrowdale;
but there were mines also at Buttermere, Wythburn,
Grasmere and Coniston. Charcoal-burning for the
works went on as far away as Calgarth on Winder-
mere and Tarn Hows near Coniston. Hardly any
dale is unrepresented in the lists of persons employed
so early as 1574 and 1575, and the original account
books of 1564 to 1577, preserved in the archives of
Augsburg (for which see *Elizabethan Keswick*, T.
Wilson, Kendal, 1912) give the most intimate par-
ticulars of the miners' doings and those of their
neighbours in the " spacious times " which, after all,

were very like to-day. The struggle for life, at any rate, individual energy and kindliness pitted against blind nature and bungling legislation, were then what they always have been. When we come to describe the dalesfolk in our next chapter we shall see how it was just at this period of prosperity that education and a new regard for the betterment of life began to dawn for them; and we must not forget the source from which it sprang. Nor need we lament the disfigurement of scenery this industry caused; such little scars as were made by mining before the use of explosives were very soon healed, and the ravage of the woods was so entirely effaced by new growth that in the 18th century the Romanticists believed the woods of Derwentwater to be relics of primeval forest (e.g. Nicolson and Burn, ii, 85).

It is not certain that the German miners, at least in their earlier period, knew of the wad-mine in Borrowdale. It is said that the " grand pipe " of plumbago or graphite was found by accident, after a tree had been blown down in a storm, and a shepherd noticed the shining deposit at its roots. This must have been soon after 1577, when the known Augsburg accounts end, for Camden, even before he visited Cumberland in 1599, mentioned " That minerall kind of earth or hardned glittering stone (we cal it *Black-lead*) with which painters use to draw their lines and make pictures of one colour in their first draughts," and said it was found near Keswick. In 1614, when Sir Wilfrid Lawson and others bought the manor of Borrowdale, the vendors reserved " all

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those wad-holes and wad, commonly called black cawke. . . of the yearly rent or value of 15s. 4d." After the Restoration the mine lay idle for many years. Sir Daniel Fleming hoped he had found another at Coniston but he was disappointed: and in 1710 the Borrowdale mine had been newly reopened when Bishop Nicolson visited it, full of curiosity. In 1751 the *Gentleman's Magazine* printed the description of a visitor who believed himself the first scientific explorer in that direction. Gray the poet did not venture up to Seathwaite on his visit of 1769, but heard that the mine was opened only once in five years—Gilpin in 1772 was told once in seven years—because the supply so far exceeded the demand.

In one of the intervals the owner of a neighbouring patch of land ingeniously sunk a shaft and tapped the vein. "At length his fraud was brought to light, and he was tried at Carlisle. The peculiarity of his case had no precedent. He saved his life; but a law was obtained by the proprietors of the mine, to defend their property from such indirect attacks for the future." (Gilpin's *Tour*). The law was apparently the act of 25 George II, which fixes the date to a little before 1752. In 1769 the graphite was worth 30s. a pound. Scraps of it, picked out from the rubbish, were pounded up for a medicine; you took as much as lay on a sixpence, in white wine or ale, and it cured the colic and other ailments. It was also used for marking sheep as well as in casting iron. In 1792, after a spell of bad luck, the mine yielded freely again, and then Keswick pencil-works—*crayons*

d'Angleterre because they were made nowhere else—went on merrily. By 1838 the annual consumption, at 45s. a pound, was valued at something between £3000 and £4000, according to Jonathan Otley, the Keswick geologist. Mr. John Postlethwaite (*Mines and Mining in the Lake District*, 114) says that in 1803 a deposit was found yielding 31¼ tons, worth at 30s. a pound £105,000. In 1812 " Winkle's pipe " gave 87 casks of best quality, which realised £9,135, besides 495 casks of inferior graphite. After 1833 the mine began to give out, and compressed dust of an inferior foreign graphite came into use. The real Keswick pencil has long been a thing of the past, but modern substitutes satisfy even one who has known the original article.

Lead mining was practised in Caldbeck fells in the middle ages. Traces of ancient smelting hearths have been seen at Roughten gill, dating probably from earlier workers than the German company. In the 18th century the Greenside mines near Patterdale were started, to the confusion of local habits; people made bitter complaints of the miners, alien to the quiet ways of the dale. The lead mines at Thornthwaite on Bassenthwaite lake were also worked in the 18th century. Others were opened later at Hartsop and on Helvellyn, above Wythburn.

As to slate quarries, they must have begun with the Romans, for the buildings at Ambleside fort were slated. In the middle ages, slate roofs were not unknown, for we found the relics of one in the preReformation ruins of the Gosforth Holy well. In

Elizabeth's time the Germans seem to have used slates from Borrowdale ; the quarries near Lodore must have an ancient history. The great Burlington quarries at Kirkby-Ireleth claim to be two centuries old, and it is known that Honister crag was being worked in 1753. Indeed Mr. R. B. Graham (*Fell and Rock C. C. Journal*, 1923, p. 211) has collected a report that " in 1730 or later slate used to be carried by packhorses and donkeys from Ash Ghyll (Honister) to Drigg *via* Wasdale," and he thinks that the remarkable path from the top of Honister crag by the back of the Gable down to Wasdale Head, called Moses' Trod, was really not a " sled-gate " but a *slate-gate*, by which this traffic and something additional in the way of whisky, illicitly distilled, was carried by Moses the smuggler. He would be a forerunner of the famous Lanty Slee of Coniston, who drove a great trade in " smuggled " whisky of his own make in the middle of the 19th century. But we have not enough information of earlier shebeens to include them as a department of Lake district industries.

At Coniston the quarries were " in high working condition " in 1780. The slates were put on boats at Kirkby Quay near the head of the lake and taken off the water at Nibthwaite for shipment at Ulverston, then a considerable little port. Later they were sent to Kendal for water carriage by the canal, opened in 1819.

The granite quarries of Threlkeld, Shap, Eskmeals and Bassenthwaite are of comparatively modern date, and hardly come into a review of ancient industries.

For details on mines and quarries of these parts a valuable handbook is *Mines and Mining in the Lake District*, by John Postlethwaite, F.G.S. (Whitehaven, W. H. Moss and Sons Ltd., third edition, 1913).

In such places as Honister Crag or the deep chasm of Penny rigg in Tilberthwaite the curiosity of these great quarries outweighs the disfigurement of natural scenery. Industrial evidences do not always destroy the sentiment of mountain landscape and, at their worst, harm it less than the transformation of pastoral valleys into suburban areas of villas and garden grounds. But it cannot be denied that there is a limit to the interference our tiny fells will bear without the ruin of their forms and colours, still more of any illusion of their magnitude and mountain character. Patches of grey scree thrown out on a beautiful hill-side, as on Loughrigg, and more especially at a high level as on Coniston Old Man, can only be justified by necessity. One may be glad that some neighbour gets wages for making the mess; but one can never agree that it is not a mess which ought to be cleared up. Some twenty years ago there was a hope that the clearing up was begun, when a company started work for turning the slate-rubbish into paving-flags. That new industry failed, owing to the cost of transport and competition of other flags on the market. But if any new use for the waste stone could be devised, it would have the hearty good wishes of all who like to see a tidy world when they come to the Lakes for their holidays. It must not be forgotten that for a hundred years

back, and perhaps for many years to come, the main industry of the Lake district has been, is, and will be the exploitation of its amenities. Wool, copper, slate have had their turn, but none of them has been so profitable to the Lake-dwellers as the visitor. It is a mere matter of business to keep the place attractive to those whose standards of beauty may perhaps not exactly coincide with local village taste. An artist in Iceland was once earnestly begged not to sketch the old " ugly " farmsteads, the picturesque turf-built dwellings, but to draw the nice new houses of corrugated iron. Here too, " improvements " are not always to the good, from the poet's or the painter's point of view.

VIII.—THE 'STATESMEN.

"YEOMEN" always in old writings; "'statesmen" perhaps used earlier colloquially* but not found in books before the later years of the 18th century; men who owned their estates, however small, or held them with special fixity of tenure.

Before the Norman settlement, no doubt a great proportion of the dalesmen owned without question the land on which their forefathers had squatted when it was no-man's-land. The process of reducing these allodial proprietors to feudal tenancy and the villeinage of the middle ages must have been rough and tedious, on both sides.

In the twelfth century, we find that the larger owners of the old race had somehow acquired their holdings from the new lords. That they were the same people one infers from their keeping old Norse names in the family down to the middle of the 13th century and even later. Others at the same time were serfs, " natives " who were sold with the soil, perhaps descendants of the thralls of the settlers. It is often said that the abbeys set free these bondmen; but this is only partly true; in some cases bondage survived for a long while. Colliers and salters were always bondmen, but the more substantial " husbandmen "—meaning people who lived in their own

* See Dr. Magrath, *Flemings at Oxford*, iii, 217.

houses—owed certain services to their lords, as the lords owed services to their overlords; and the interesting feature of these services in all the Border country, of which the Lake district formed a part, was that they were fixed, not arbitrary. The dalesfolk were not tenants-at-will; by their customary tenure they could not be evicted, and the payments to the landlord were definite and known beforehand. When a Lake district tenant died, in the middle ages, his holding was continued to his widow as a matter of right; or if he had no widow, to his eldest son or daughter. This gave the family almost the position of freeholders, and a great sense of independence which may very well be the source of the " independent " character their descendants still claim and sometimes exhibit.

But there was one burden they had to bear, from which the southern peasant was exempt. Being Borderers they had to turn out whenever there was the alarm of Border fighting; therefore to keep themselves suitably provided with arms and, if their degree required, with horses. In the south part of the district, where the Scots never came after Bruce's raid, this duty and the distance they had to travel began to be felt onerous long before the union of the crowns; and in 1525 the tenants of Plain Furness rebelled against it. They disputed an award obliging them to have sixty able men with " harness " always ready to be called out, though twelve years earlier they had responded to the call and fought at Flodden, partners in a great victory.

HEWTHWAITE HALL.

Photo by Mrs. Dyson.

At the union of the crowns this service was at an end. There was still unrest on the actual Border, but no open fighting. Theoretically the Border tenure was at an end too. So thought King James, and ingeniously proposed to close down on the tenants, reducing them to the common level of dependence. They came out in revolt and met in a large body at Staveley-in-Kendal in 1620; but instead of adopting " direct action " which would have been fatal, they subscribed to a fund for their defence at law, and began with a petition to the king and an attempt to get a bill passed in parliament to preserve their rights. The bill failed, and the king issued a proclamation suppressing customary estates. The tenants replied with a remonstrance which provoked King James and the landlords too, who of course sided with the king, for they would profit by the change; and proceedings in the Star Chamber were instituted against the authors of the remonstrance. The case was passed on to the chief justices who decided in favour of the retention of customary tenure, but left open the question of fines payable on the death of the tenants or lords. This was a partial victory for the yeomen; their counsel, who was also Recorder of London, moved the Star Chamber for judgment, which was decreed in the terms of the certificate and a day fixed for settling the fines. By that time King James was dead, and the attempt to upset ancient rights was abandoned.

Still there were limitations to what a yeoman might do. Beside common of pasture he could get

stone, wood and turf for building, peat for burning, bracken for bedding and thatching, and farm as he thought fit, but he could not sublet or mortgage for more than three years. Nor could he cut down trees without leave, but only lop them; and the lord had mineral and sporting rights over the land. The fines and heriots (payments in money and kind) on death or alienation, not being part of the regular rent, were always rather a grievance; but certainly the position was far from unenviable. The chief drawback was that it left too much to the responsibility of the occupier: and there was more failure in business and consequent change of ownership in the dales than is generally supposed. This is seen from parish registers, where the claims of a surname to centuries of continuance are often disappointed. On the other hand, modern surnames and some pedigrees which have been compiled seem to show that many " old stocks " derive from cadet branches of the landowning families of the middle ages.

From the time of Queen Elizabeth and the revival of industries, their condition improved, and there was general prosperity. The ornamented front of Hewthwaite Hall, built 1583 (p. 137) and the ample accommodation of Coniston Hall, of about the same date, show how the gentry lived ; but there are no cottages remaining from this period in the Lake district.

The Civil Wars brought poverty, though there was no fighting in the dales. Most of the local landlords, and consequently very many tenants, fought for King Charles and suffered accordingly. But there

First Floor

F.P.

(Loft on 2nd floor)

Oriel

Present Barn-door

Stair to the Loft

Door?

Window?

F.P.

Window to stair

Screens

Dining Hall

Dais

Withdrawing-Room (Loft above)

F.P.

Door?

← Window to loft above

"Court-Room"

F.P.

F.P.

10   0   10   20   30   40 feet

Ground Floor

Window?

F.P.

Porch

Door?

Door?

F.P.

Now a door

Now a door

Window to stair

Stairs

new   old

F.P.

Kitchen

F.P.
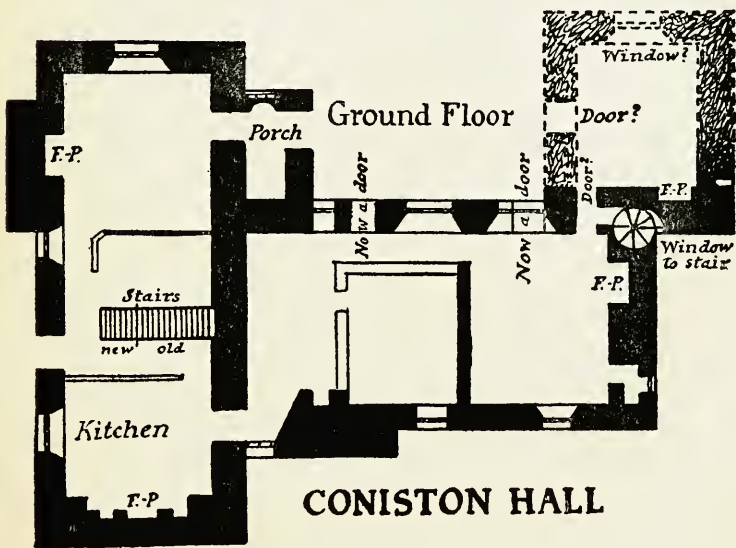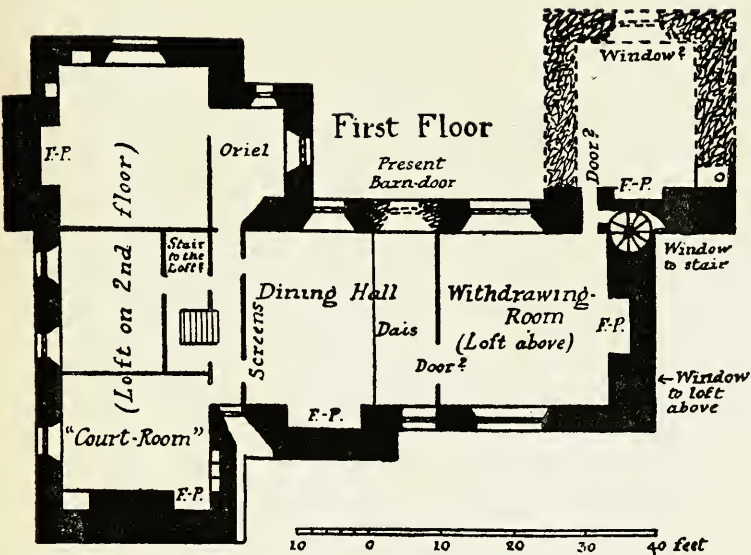
CONISTON HALL

was hope and peace after 1660, in spite of alarms.
We hear much of the persecution of Quakers and
other nonconformists and the tyranny of the great
is often taken for granted; but "the proof of the
pudding is in the eating" and the period of Charles II,
whatever mistakes were made in the cause of order or
in the cause of freedom, was prosperous. To see this
we have only to look at the old farm-houses, dating
everywhere from the Restoration to Queen Anne, and
their "insight and plenishing" of solid oak furniture,
inscribed very rarely with a year before 1660. Earlier
stone buildings and oak fittings were not of the
'statesmen, but of the gentry or—earlier still—
ecclesiastical: but now almost everyone lived in a
new world of comfort and wellbeing.

The best description of the old local cottage is
Mr. H. S. Cowper's in his volume on Hawkshead
(Bemrose, 1899). He shows how the fellside farm
always fronts the hill for shelter, never built for the
view like the nineteenth century houses of strangers
who settled here for the sake of the scenery. The
dwelling house is rough-casted and whitewashed,
because its walls, built of unsquared stones, would
not otherwise keep the draught out; but the out-
buildings are of blue stone undisguised. Wordsworth
did not like white houses, and as they were being
built in his day they were a mistake; whereas the
dalesfolk had found out by experience what was best
for them, and in the long run the most suitable
somehow becomes the most beautiful—taking beauty
in its wider sense. A big house, whitewashed, cer-

tainly cuts up and dwarfs the scenery; but the small touches of white surrounded with grey, in the green landscape of summer, or the Persian-rug effect of winter, make the best picture.   There is a great risk of spoiling the view when modern architects are let loose with their suburban villa-plans; but there is plenty of room for extension if they would only keep to the ancient type and build houses externally like the old ones, however completely modernized in the interiors, and then screen them with sheltering trees like the yews of the 'statesmen's homestead.

WRESTLER SLATE FROM LORD'S ISLAND.

The older type, dating from the age before stone walling was used, and now seen only in barns and stables which were once dwellings but have been superseded, was built on " siles " or " forks."   They

set up pairs of curved timbers, resting on a dwarf wall and tied into an A; outside the feet of these the wall was run up a little higher and the roof put on above the whole. Two pairs of forks made the framework of a small cottage; if it had to be enlarged, another pair was added and accommodation could be increased indefinitely in a series of bays. The roof was usually thatched, in the older days; but slating was not unknown from the time when the farmhouses began to be built of stone. As slate was plentiful but clay scarce, the ridge was made of " wrestlers "—slates notched so as to interlock, like an X in section. The 16th or 17th century buildings of the Radcliffes on Lord's Island, Derwentwater, contained relics of this kind of ridging, and in old barns the " wrestlers " can still be seen.

The ancient custom was for neighbours to give a " boon day " and help in putting up the house. Like all such personal services the duty was replaced, in time, by payments, and a transitional stage was shown in the curious collection of gifts, from pounds of tobacco and quarters of veal to cups of butter and cans of milk, recorded by James Jackson at the building of his house in 1667 (N.S. xxi, 113) of which a carved stone with " J 1667 J " remains to verify his account.

The plan of the dwelling house was simple. To quote Mr. Cowper again:—" Over the threshold we pass straight into the house or house-place. . . . On the right is an oaken partition separating the house-place from the bower, parlour or second living-room,
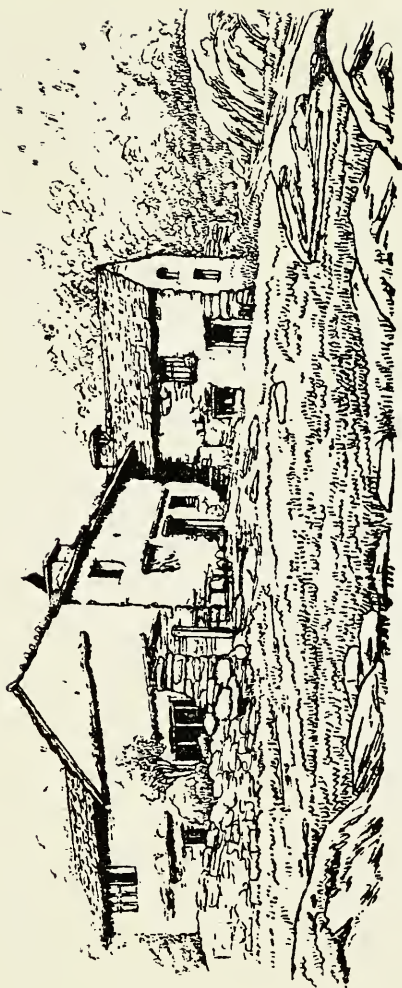
LOUGHRIGG FOLD; after W. GREEN, 1822.

and in this partition stands the great carved oaken bread-cupboard, part of the house. Facing that is the hearth, and one or two windows light the house-place: if two, the smaller in the corner near the hearth and the larger halfway between the door and the wall. There is a door right opposite the front door, and the staircase generally ascends here on the left; on the right a door leads into the kitchen (if there is one) and pantry. . . . The upper floor in all these old houses was open to the great oaken beams throughout the length of the house, though generally it has been ceiled in modern times. In most farms of any pretensions, however, there was at one end a room divided off by an oaken partition, and here slept the master and mistress. The remainder of the loft was the common sleeping place of the family and house-hold, of all sexes and ages."

The great fireplace, with peats burning on the stone hearth and mutton-hams hanging in the chimney above the crook which held the pot, is a well known feature. An inside staircase was not common except in the best of the earlier houses; sometimes there was only a ladder to the loft.* But there are still examples of the outside stair leading up to a gallery covered with a penthouse roof, as in a Swiss chalet or as described in the Norse houses of the Viking age. It was, however, a common feature of the old English

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*The shaft for such a ladder, disused and built up, can be seen in a few West Cumberland houses of the seventeenth century, and has sometimes been mistaken for a priest's hiding-hole. The stair to the loft, in the plan of Coniston Hall, seems to have been in a shaft of that kind, about 6 by 6 feet wide.

W. Collingwood,
Ambleside, 1841.

COTTAGE INTERIOR, AMBLESIDE

RICHARD BRAITHWAITE, OF BURNESIDE, THE POET:
From the painting at Dodding Green.

(By kind permission of Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A.) To face p. 145.

house, both in country and town. How picturesque this was can be seen, for example, at Yewtree farm near Coniston; but it was never intended to be picturesque—nothing was further from the minds of the old dalesfolk, who were of all people the most practical.

In the earlier period they had few gardens, but in the 18th century they began to imitate the clipped yews and flower beds of Levens Hall. They grew a patch of vegetables in a little walled plot; no beans, very few pease and as little rye, but potatoes, when Arthur Young visited Keswick in 1768. He says their rotation of crops was (1) oats on turf, (2) fallow, (3) barley, (4) wheat, (5) oats and grasses. But cattle and sheep were their chief concern. In favourable places there were orchards. Apples throve at Ambleside in the 18th century, Clarke said; the damsons of Crosthwaite and the Lyth are famous, but must have been extremely unequal from year to year.

What helped the 17th century farmer to make a living was the spinning and weaving carried on at home. There is a poem, pretty certainly by Richard Braithwaite of Burneside Hall, about the great accident when forty-seven persons were drowned by the upsetting of the ferry boat on Windermere, October 19, 1635. The poem was published next year in London and one copy survives in the Bodleian Library, a very curious work (N.S. xiii, 147). Of the travellers returning from Hawkshead market and a wedding there to Windermere the author says,

in a passage worth quoting as a contemporary
character of these dalesfolk:—

> But let me now divert my dolefull Scene,
> And pencyle those who now have drowned bene,
> In their owne native feature !   These were such
> Who to relieve their Meniey, labour'd much
> In their industrious Wool-worke; justly fam'd,
> And for their Manuall labour *Sheare-men* named.
> An usefull mystery ! which though it make
> Course cloaths, and such as ne'er did *Alnage* take,
> Yet 'tis commodious to the Common-weale,
> And fit for Sale, although unfit for Seale . . .
> Most then of these wract Passengers were such
> Whom never yet ambition did tutch,
> Grinding oppression, griping avarice—
> Conscience their praise, and competence their prize.
> Much comfort (sure) crowns such wheres'ere they dye,
> Though drencht below, their thoughts are fixt on hye.

' Meniey ' means their families; ' Alnage ' was the
duty on the better kinds of cloth, ' sealed ' by the
official inspector.   The quaint language makes one
laugh; but through it all one gets a clear and charming
view of a race that had great virtues, even though
the loft was the common sleeping-place of all sexes
and ages.   The proof of the pudding, again, is the
output of worthies, lads bred in such homes and taught
in the country schools, who became famous scholars
and divines like Dr. John Mill, the editor of the New
Testament, Bishop Gibson the antiquary, Bishop
Law, the founder of a brilliant family, and many
who climbed high on the educational ladder, beside
a host of local clergy, lawyers and doctors, sprung
from the yeomanry.   The gentry also contributed

their share, but that was only as it ought to be. The point is that this rustic life bred body and brains and a certain moral character without which physical and mental gifts are useless. They were far from perfect; creatures " not too bright and good for human nature's daily food "; but they played their part creditably.

The stay-at-home clergy were mainly men of the people, taught in the schools which sprang up in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period of prosperity. Hawkshead Grammar School was founded in 1585, Bampton in 1632, Barton in 1649. There is no doubt that full advantage was taken of free education. At Bampton it was said " they drove the plough in Latin," meaning that not only the scholars who went to Oxford and Cambridge but the lads who went from school to the farms also remembered the chief of their lessons, which was to talk Latin—dog-Latin of course ; but they were in a sense bilingual. That was perhaps the chief value of the old classical training; it made one think what one was saying. In the little chapels, by then common in all the dales, it was usual for the incumbent to teach school, sometimes to the scandal of the authorities who found the communion-table inked and so forth. But as one of the "hedge-priests" is reported to have answered to his bishop, " the sparrow hath found an home and the swallow a nest for herself where she may lay her young, even thine altars. Ay, and my lord, blessed are they, for they will still be praising God."

In an article on the Readers of the Lake district

(that is to say the unordained ministers or, if ordained, deacons only) the late Bishop Ware (N.S. v, 89) showed that they originated in an order of Archbishop Parker (1559) permitting their appointment. Elsewhere this makeshift ministry died out early; here it lingered, owing to the extreme poverty of the benefices, until the middle of the 18th century when the benefactions of Dr. William Stratford and Queen Anne's Bounty amended the worst cases. "Wythburn's lowly house of prayer," founded just after the Reformation, was in 1700 worth only £3 8s. 2d. a year, though it was augmented in 1745; and the curates through that century were Wythburn natives. At the chapels of Blawith, Coniston, Lowick and Torver, Bishop Gastrell noted in 1717 that "ye sacraments on several holidays in ye yeare" were administered by a priest from the nearest church, but "ye curates (who teach school) have only twelve pence p. quarter." They had in addition their "whittlegate" (board) and "harden sark" (part of their clothing) and cock-penny (p. 152) and other income from the schools, and could keep sheep on the common; but it was a poor life and only possible to a native. Some of them no doubt were poor creatures ; tradition teems with stories against them, but local gossip is always a little bit malicious, and the visitor's note-book, with its collections of what he picked up in wayside conversation, is usually a pack of libels. There were many rustic clergymen of the type of "Wonderful" Walker of Seathwaite-in-Dunnerdale, who died (1802) in his 93rd year,

curate of Seathwaite for 66 years on £5 and a cottage and what he could make by his thrift and industry; and then canonized by Wordsworth in the Duddon Sonnets. And the minutes of the Commonwealth "Committee for Ejecting Scandalous Ignorant and Insufficient Ministers," recently unearthed by Mr. Norman F. Wilson (N.S. xxiv, 66) rarely have worse to say than that the culprits could not give satisfaction "touching adoption assurance faith and the morall Lawe" as understood by the Puritans; that they were very "darke and ignorante": one or two guilty of profanation of the Lord's day and of quarrelling and fighting. There were, however, some black sheep, worse than these minutes record (e.g. in Miss Armitt's *Grasmere*, 85).

Under the Georges the peace of the dales was deep, hardly broken by the Jacobite incursions of 1715 and 1745 which touched only the eastern fringe of the district. In the "Fifteen" Bishop Nicolson and Lord Lonsdale collected levies to stop the invaders and met them on Penrith fell; but the local men, unarmed and undrilled, simply ran away home. In the "Forty-five" they only chased the already beaten Highlanders and called it their Sunday Hunting. This was no longer the age of "fellows fierce from Furness fells" who fought at Flodden, still less of their Viking ancestors. Various soldiers and sailors were recruited from the dales and did themselves honour, but the district had no traditions of war to maintain. On the other hand they were not without manly sports.

If there is anything in the story of Hugh Hird,
"the Cork Lad" of Troutbeck or Kentmere, who went
to London-town and threw the King's champion,
our dalesfolk wrestled in the 16th or even in the 15th
century. Mention is made of Richard Muncaster,
clergyman in Essex and author of "Positions;
wherein those Primitive Circumstances be examined
which are necessarie for the training up of Children"
(1581) as one who advocated "wrastling"; and he
was a Cumberland man. In 1656 wrestling on
Sundays was forbidden by the Puritan Associated
Ministers. There is no doubt it is an ancient sport,
perhaps traditional from the Vikings whose Thor
was a wrestler unconquered except by old Mother
Time, in the story of his visit to the World at the
Back of Beyond. A good reason for believing in
its antiquity is the curious fact that wrestling was
one of the sports practised at meetings on pre-historic
sites, like the "kirk" above Kirkby Ireleth, where
gatherings were held at Easter, time out of mind, and
at the British earthworks of Stone Carr (or Carron)
near Greystoke where the leather belt was the ancient
prize. Other occasions were the shepherds' meet
when they sorted the sheep of the mountain heafs:
one of the most famous was held on the 10th of July
at the top of High Street until about 1830. In the
19th century the patronage of visitors tended to
professionalize these rustic sports. Betting is no
new feature, but the bookies who infest many of the
gatherings other than "the Derby of the North"
at Grasmere could very well be spared. And as to

the champions of more recent generations, their deeds are chronicled in "Wrestling and Wrestlers," by Jacob Robinson and Sidney Gilpin (Bemrose, 1893).

Foxhunting was a necessity. Anciently the Bailiff of Gowbarrow kept hounds and received in return forty quarts of middling oats from each farmer (Clarke, *Survey*, 29); when he failed in that duty the tenants held a vestry meeting and some opined that they ought to go to law with their landlord to force him to set up a new pack. They compromised on a voluntary rate; got hounds from Keswick, and at Whitsuntide 1759 there was a great hunt; " the sum-total of vermin destroyed, were fifteen foxes, seven badgers, twelve wild cats and nine marterns (called here, by way of distinction, Clean Marts;) besides a prodigious number of foulmarts, eagles, ravens, gleads, etc." The famous John Peel, whose grave is in Caldbeck Churchyard, died Nov. 10, 1854, aged 78. Hound-trails, a pretty sport now too much spoilt by the betting which has become parasitic, can be traced back far enough to rank with other ancient institutions.

Bull-baiting was supposed to be another necessity; unbaited beef was thought unwholesome eating. In some cases this may mean unfattened, for "baiting" meant feeding, as well as tormenting ; but there used to be a bull ring at Keswick. Cock-fighting was the Shrove Tuesday ritual of a liberal education from the time when village schools were founded. Near every old schoolhouse, here or elsewhere in the kingdom, there is or was a cockpit, and the

schoolboys' cock-penny was part of the teacher's income (O.S. ix, 366). The game was stopped for a while by order of Commonwealth in 1654, but flourished again at the Restoration. In Sir Daniel Fleming's account books there are always entries of the cock-penny sent to his sons; at the little Rydal school a mere sixpence each; at Ambleside a shilling; at Hawkshead half-a-crown or more, and at Kendal school as much as ten shillings. And sometimes he sent them money to bet with.

Other rituals marked off the seasons of the year:—Christmas feasts, stanging at Twelfth-night (often a rough ceremony in which the victim was lifted on a pole until he bought himself free; at other places an innocent invasion of the house by a tribe of bedizened "jolly-boys"); pace-egging at Easter (when they performed the play of St George and the "black Morocco dog"); Whitsuntide hirings and hakes; rush-bearing in the late summer, to carpet the muddy floors of the churches afresh; Hallowe'en with its folklore; and at any time bidden weddings with full amount of sports and dancing, or young folk's days and old folk's nights. All this varied the monotony of a life with few books, no newspapers, and very little incident from without, but far from stagnant.

We need not idealize the dalesfolk of old. There were coarse threads in the fabric, and perhaps the Jacobean period was especially marked by great contrasts between loose living and sober piety. One sees the reflex of the times in Richard Braithwaite (1588-1673), who could write by turns his "Drunken

Barnaby," the portrait of a picaresque rowdy, and his many serious and scholarly books and religious poems in English and Latin. The rise of Quakerism, which took a strong hold on the district after George Fox's first visit in 1652, and the constancy of converts under persecution, is surely a testimony to the sounder side of the local character. There was some fanaticism in it—not only on the Quaker side; there was the grave misfortune of Quaker support to the Kaber rigg plotters in 1663, though not to the plot (N.S. xi, 212; xii, 202), when the son of Richard Braithwaite the poet tried to save the arch-plotter Atkinson ; and there was a general feeling that secret meetings and strange manners were dangerous at a time when the Restoration was young and insecure. It was not for their religion that nonconformists were then attacked, but for their supposed complicity with " hellish plots "; and the reason for the sufferings of Margaret Fell of Swarthmoor was simply that she would not stop the meetings in a time of public anxiety, and give assurances of loyalty at the request of the magistrates. In the recently published *Account books* of her daughter, Sarah Fell, the springs of personal character in the Quaker saint are revealed, and for the rest, the picture of life in Furness High and Low gains in attraction as we see more of its detail; just as the details given in Miss Armitt's *Rydal* (Wilson, Kendal, 1916) and in Dr. Magrath's volumes of *The Flemings at Oxford* help us to make a kindly human estimate of the Quakers' enemy, Sir Daniel Fleming, and all his circle.

We are indeed in no want of information about the
dalesfolk of that age.   What we should be glad to
keep is anything that would bring before our eyes the
dales as they inhabited them.   Here and there,
perhaps, we may find a corner which is much as it
was, unspoilt by modernisms.   Mardale, if we forget
the one staring house at the head of the lake, and
repopulate in imagination deserted homesteads, too
sadly ruined, has almost the aspect of the 18th century.
Even there the walled roads are comparatively recent,
and our picture loses a very important part of any
scene—the foreground—until we go higher up the
valley where no houses are.   Perhaps the most
accessible and beautiful scrap of real antique land-
scape, domestic as well as mountainous, is Stone-
thwaite in Borrowdale and the length of rude ancient
road leading into Langstrath.   There one really sees
what the poets and artists of old days saw—the
tumble of ragged wood from the dark crags above,
the rush of a rocky torrent below, and the winding,
through little intakes, of a rural track, useless for
wheels but glorious for the feet of the faithful who
come to renew their youth in this little Paradise
Earthly.

IX.—THE ROMANTIC AGE.

LONG before the general public knew anything about the lakes, or cared for landscape scenery, there were a few lake-dwellers who did. Like other great movements, the romantic age dawned slowly. We have quoted Richard Braithwaite as the first of the Lake poets, and in the book attributed to him and dated 1636 he speaks of " those curiously shaded, beauteously tufted " islands of " that famous and renowned Mere of Windermere," showing some appreciation of the scenery.

In 1652, Sir Daniel Fleming, of Rydal, must have seen something in the landscape to pay " Mr. Samuel Moore (Mr. Adams his Artist) who did take the prospect of Rydal Hall and garden (out of yᵉ Round Close), of yᵉ grotto (out of ye Little House) and of yᵉ Vale from Rydal Hall to Windermere-water out of yᵉ best Chamber window." One pound seems cheap, but the Fleming family portraits, painted a little later by Mr. Braken, cost only 30s. or £2 apiece. The point is that Sir Daniel, a careful soul, spent good money on local landscape in the hard times of the Commonwealth, which is more than we should expect.

Bishop Gibson, editing Camden in 1695 and knowing his native district well, had no eye for scenery. He goes so far as to say that from " a very high

mountain call'd *Ridall-head* one has a large prospect, and, if the day be clear, may see Lancaster-castle, and much farther." But he derived the name Cumberland from " the lakes and mountains that *encumber* it." That very remarkable man, Bishop Nicolson, went everywhere and noticed everything— except the scenery. This is an example from his diary of July 26, 1704:—" I went, wth Mr. Benson to see the lake on Bowskale Fells near Mosedale. But it did not answer expectation. 'Tis as large as that of Threlkeld; but so cold, y^t nothing lives in it. Fish have been put in; But they presently dy. I found the Gladiolus Lacustris Clus. plentifully in it. . . . " One cannot help remembering in contrast the curious magic of Wordsworth's couplet:—

> Both the undying fish that swim
> In Bowscale Tarn did wait on him . . .

But the bishop, if he had lived a little longer, would have been interested in the views of ruined castles and abbeys, published in 1739 by the Bucks. That was the earliest evidence of general awakening to the picturesque. (A specimen faces p. 76.)

Then in 1748 there was an account of Windermere in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and ten years later the first well-known poem by a well-known author on the beauties of the Lakes. Before this there had been local poets; Josiah Relph of Sebergham was more than a mere versifier, and his remains (published at Wigton in 1747) have great charm, but they did not reach the wider public and they are more concerned with the people than the scenery. John Dalton,

not the chemist, but a D.D. of Queen's College, Oxford, was born 1709 at Dean; he put Milton's *Comus* on the stage in 1750 for the benefit of Milton's impoverished grand-daughter, with a prologue by Dr. Johnson, spoken by Garrick. He died in 1763, Canon of Worcester. This Dr. Dalton claimed a certain amount of attention. His poem on Keswick was dated 1758, and in reading it we need not be put off by the old-fashioned word " horrors," which simply means " thrills," though of course the whole thing is old-fashioned enough:—

> Horrors like these at first alarm
> But soon with savage grandeur charm,
> And raise to noblest thoughts the mind:
> Thus by thy fall, Lowdore, reclin'd,
> The craggy cliff, impending wood
> Whose shadows mix o'er half the flood . . . .
> I view with wonder and delight,
> A pleasing, tho' an awful sight:
> For seen with them, the verdant isles
> Soften with more delicious smiles . . . .
> And last, to fix our wand'ring eyes,
> Thy roofs, O Keswick, brightly rise
> The lake and lofty hills between
> Where giant Skiddaw shuts the scene.

A still wider advertisement was given in 1767 by the publication of Dr. John Brown's letter to Lord Lyttelton. John Brown (1715-1766) of St. John's College, Cambridge, spent his school-days at Wigton and was for a while vicar of Morland near Penrith; afterwards of Newcastle. He was an extremely clever person but with a crack of egotism in his structure, which developed into madness when, after

securing an appointment from the Empress Catherine
to reform the education of Russia, he shirked the task
and cut his throat—much to the concern of many
who partly admired and partly disapproved of him,
like Horace Walpole, the poet Gray and their circle.
But his essay on the Lakes is sound and even valuable
as giving the point of view of the Romanticists.
He explains why he likes Keswick so much better
than Dovedale, which everybody then admired.
He found at Derwentwater a " rich and beautiful
landskip of cultivated fields, rising to the eye in
fine inequalities, with noble groves of oak . . .
rocks and cliffs of stupendous height, hanging broken
over the lake in horrible grandeur," and so on.   It
was the contrast and the chiaroscuro that appealed;
" Beauty in the lap of Horror," as they put it.   And
so this essay, as Hutchinson said in 1794, " excited
a general curiosity and drew many visitors to the
lakes."

The most famous of them was Gray himself, who
came here in 1767 and 1769. According to our
notions he saw very little. He only went from
Penrith to the foot of Ullswater, and then to Keswick
where he spent a few days in excursions but never
got up Borrowdale farther than Grange. Then he
went by Grasmere, to Ambleside and Kendal. That
was all; and contemporaries who had not the wit to
see who Gray was, and what he was going to be,
derided him while they stole his purple streaks to
eke out their own patchwork productions. Father
West, otherwise a valuable author, picked all the

holes he could in Gray's descriptions and Clarke, with
the petty contempt of the North-country villager,
declared that the poet was so frightened of the
" horrors " that he pulled his post-chaise blinds
down and shut his eyes to the more striking parts
of the route. But Gray saw more than they: more
than we can see now. His passage on Grasmere has
been quoted often, but it is worth reading once again
and on the spot:—" One of the sweetest landscapes
that art ever attempted to imitate. . . . Not a
single red tile, no gentleman's flaring house, or
garden walls, break in upon the repose of this little
unsuspected paradise; but all is peace, rusticity, and
happy poverty, in its neatest, most becoming attire."
That is what attracted the Romanticists.

Others followed. Gilpin's *Observations* dates 1772.
Pennant came in 1774. Hutchinson's *Excursion*
and West's *Furness* were published in that year;
Cumberland's *Ode to the Sun*, praising not only Lodore
but Wythburn, Grasmere, Windermere and Patterdale,
was published in 1776 ; Nicolson and Burn's great
History of the counties, 1777; West's *Guide to the
Lakes*, 1778. Clarke's gossiping *Survey* is dated
1785; Captain Budworth's *Fortnight's Ramble to the
Lakes*, 1792. Mrs. Radcliffe of *The Mysteries of
Udolpho* wrote a rather high-flown account of her
visit and ascent of Skiddaw in 1794, the year that saw
Hutchinson's detailed *History of Cumberland*. *Pride
and Prejudice* was written in 1796, and one can see
that the Lakes were the rage from Elizabeth Bennet's
anticipations:—" What are men to rocks and moun-

tains? Oh! what hours of transport we shall spend!''
No wonder if somebody jibbed at the fashion.   Thus
" The Landscape, a Poem, by R. P. Knight Esq.''
turns and rends the enthusiasts with

> Keswick's favoured pool
> Is now the theme of ev'ry wond'ring fool.

But Mr. Knight did not stem the torrent.

Meanwhile the artists had been busy. To name
only a few: " Old " Crome (1769-1821) is said to
have stayed a while at Ambleside, giving drawing-
lessons, and an impressive mountain picture of his
in the National Gallery dates from this visit; Joseph
Farington, R.A., the diarist (1747-1821) sketched the
district pretty thoroughly; Joseph Wright of Derby
(1734-1797) painted here, and his last picture was
" the Head of Ullswater."   In 1797, too, J. M. W.
Turner, then a youngster of twenty-three, came over
the sands to Coniston and saw the mountain glory
from the old Halfpenny Alehouse (on that spot a
house called Lanehead now stands), and next year
showed at the Academy his first true mountain
subject, " Morning on Coniston Fells."

Now all these tourists could not have toured
without roads. It was the creation of turnpikes by
the Acts of 1760 and following years that made their
visit possible. Gray in 1769 found " an excellent
road " along Thirlmere, quite new. If he had come
a few years earlier he would not have been able
to drive comfortably, that Sunday morning, past
Wythburn chapel as the congregation was coming out.
Many years before, it seems, Daniel Hechstetter and

OLD BRIDGE AT WATENDLATH,
by W. Collingwood, R.W.S., 1841.

OLD BRIDGE AT RYDAL, by W. Collingwood, R.W.S., 1841.

his family from Augsburg did come that way in a
carriage with a tilt over it (*Elizabethan Keswick*, 121),
for even in 1571 the old posting road followed this
route.   Probably there was then a road of sorts
on both sides of Thirlmere, each available as a cart-
track; the one on the west side of the lake still kept
its old form—the most beautiful lane in the Lake
district—until it was cut up thirty years ago to make
the trippers' drive.   But when Gray the poet came
there were no carriage-roads here except this Kendal
to Keswick line, and the new roads from Kendal to
Ulverston and to Shap, and from Penrith to Keswick
and Cockermouth, which Gray found incomplete.
The rest were cart-lanes or bridle-tracks, with narrow
bridges for the pack-horses alongside of the fords
through which the occasional cart had to be dragged.
Some of the old bridges can be seen, such as Stockley
bridge on the Styhead path; the bridge at Watend-
lath; Slater's bridge in Little Langdale; and in others
the old arch, widened, can be detected from below,
as at Brathay.   The quaint wooden bridges across
the narrows of Thirlmere were destroyed by the Man-
chester scheme that transformed the valley.

The old maps mark roads with a double line, even
when they are only foot-paths.   Brasier's map of
Furness, 1745, shows the Walna-scar track so, and
marks the bridge over Torver beck as the New Bridge.
Even Clarke's maps of 1785 cannot be taken as safe to
distinguish these details: but he indicates roads of
some kind from Penrith by Ullswater and Kirkstone
to Ambleside, with a branch from Pooley bridge to

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Martindale; on both sides of Bassenthwaite lake and of Derwentwater and of Windermere; also roads from Brathay to Skelwith and to Hawkshead, and from the Ferry to Kendal on the one hand and to Hawkshead on the other. From Housman's map of 1802 an intending visitor might hope to drive over Styhead and Nan Bield. But early in the nineteenth century the road-system was fairly complete. A few lines, like the Oxenfell road between Coniston and Skelwith, date within living memory, and old cart-tracks have been improved for carriages. Now that motor-traffic has upset all the old principles of road-making, and the char-à-bancs nose into every corner, a fresh problem is stated. We have to ask whether we want the district to remain as picturesque as it was, or to be made as visible as part of the public demands; for in our miniature scenery a conspicuous road is ruin to the view.

Roads without inns are useless. The first tourists had to rough it. Gray, who liked his comforts, " lay " at the Queen's Head in Keswick, pretty well content; but he found the best bed-chamber at Ambleside " dark and damp as a cellar." West, a few years later, felt himself obliged to note, " The inn at Ambleside has been greatly improved since Mr. Gray's visit, and is now as commodious as any in the county." This was the old Salutation, besides which there were several public-houses. Clarke mentions the White Lyon at Bowness; a public-house at Grasmere (the Red Lion); one at Wythburn; Lame John's at Legberthwaite; Nell House at

Patterdale, where until seven years earlier nothing but ale was to be had; Pooley bridge, where there was "no convenience for dining." He has a word of praise for the little public at Lodore where he was entertained by the cat and dog while he took his bacon and eggs and remarked—for which we wish him luck wherever he dwell—"In these solitary parts of the country domestic animals are treated with the greatest kindness." At Ousebridge (foot of Bassenthwaite lake) Mr. Spedding had just then built an inn for the convenience of travellers, with proper rooms and a bow window; the first Lake hotel. At Coniston there was the Black Bull, kept by Tom Robinson and his wife, the daughter of Wonderful Walker.

About 1800 Housman found the Sun at Pooley bridge, the King's Arms at Patterdale, the Red Lion and other inns at Hawkshead. At Nibthwaite there was an ale-house without any sign and very little to be got there but "honesty, innocence and good nature, as substitutes for the accommodation" lacking. The countryside was far from inhospitable; benighted wanderers could count upon a welcome at farms or vicarages, even if it were only a sup of porridge and a bed in the hay-loft.

When we come to the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign we find something like accommodation everywhere. From Jonathan Otley of 1838 we can collect the following:—Bowness, the White Lion and the Crown; Low wood; Newby Bridge [the Swan]; at Ambleside, the Salutation and the Commercial, also

ale-houses and private lodgings; a public-house at
Skelwith bridge; the Red Lion at Hawkshead, and
at Coniston the Black Bull and the new Waterhead
inn, demolished in 1848. At Grasmere the Red Lion
and the Swan; an inn at Wythburn; the King's
Head at Thirlspot. At Keswick, the Royal Oak, the
Queen's Head, and smaller inns and lodgings. At
Armathwaite the Castle Inn, and at Peel Wyke a
public-house. Inns at Lodore, Buttermere and Scale
Hill; two public-houses at Ennerdale Bridge and
two at Strands, but nothing between these last and
Rosthwaite, all the way over Styhead. Also the
Woolpack in Eskdale, the Dun Bull in Mardale and
the Sun at Pooley Bridge. But whether it was the
natural conservatism of the dalesfolk or the visitors'
easy contentment with a drive through the country
that delayed the march of progress, we see that half
a century went by before inn-keeping became at all
general.

Some of the visitors came to stay, even in this
early period. There were a few fine mansions already;
the Howards at Greystoke, the Hudlestons at Hutton
John and the Hasells at Dalemain were rather outside
the fells; but within them the Flemings at Rydal,
the Leatheses at Dalehead and the Sandys and
Rawlinson families at Graythwaite were principal,
along with about a dozen of the rank of gentlefolk
and many substantial 'statesmen. Some of the old
halls had already become tenants' homesteads by the
failure of their ancient holders; but Clarke was a
little hurt because he could not see at Keswick what

he could near Otley—" many noble mansions, such as Maud, Esq; Faux, Esq; Sir W. Vavasour, Sir James Ibbetson, Sir W. Middleton, Lord Grantly, the Duke of Devonshire, etc., all seen at one view "; and that is where Clarke differed from Gray. But already the Earl of Surrey had built Lyulph's Tower; a London publican, Mr. Graves, had a house in Glencoin; Miss Curwen, the heiress of Workington, had built a cottage at Ousebridge; Dr. Broomrigg was at Ormathwaite; the late Mr. Spedding had erected a neat red-freestone mansion at Armathwaite; Mr. Storey, a new place at Mirehouse, and Lord William Gordon and Mr. Pocklington were building at Water End and Finkle. These were round about Keswick; at Windermere Mr. Law had lately come to Brathay, and Mr. English had built the round house and laid out the gardens on the island before 1770; and he had been discussed by the critics of taste as keenly as if it had been to-day.

To illustrate the Romantic settlement, for these good people, like the Vikings, first came on raids and then as immigrants, we note a few details about the Windermere group as they were reported in 1821:—Calgarth (Bishop Watson); Rayrigg; Croft (Miss Pritchard); new houses at Ambleside (Mr. Harrison, Mrs. Taylor, Mr. North); at Bowness, Bellfield (Mr. Taylor), Ferney Green (Mr. Crump), Holly Hill (Mr. Bellasis); also Storrs, Tarnhead, Fellfoot and Newby Bridge. Mr. John Christian Curwen had built the summerhouse called the Station and enlarged the Ferry Inn. At Coniston Mr. Knott had improved

into "modern Gothic" the old house of the Water-
head; Colonel Smith had built Tent Lodge in the
Italian gusto, and Mr. Binns of Bristol was then
building the Thwaite. Ten years later a rather
impish boy named John Ruskin was writing in
doggerel what he thought of them:—

> I'd like such a house:—and yet, no—I would not:
> There's a circumstance I had completely forgot.
> If these gingerbread houses—there now are but few,
> And they rather improve, not disfigure the view—
> But I say, if these things were allowed to increase,
> And disturb in that landscape its own native peace,
> No longer 'twould be all so lovelily lone,
> And the mightiness, silence and grandeur be gone.

And so, a few years later, he wrote essays on " The
Poetry of Architecture," trying to explain that the
old 'statesmen had evolved a perfectly suitable
architecture of their own, which does not blot or
dwarf the fells. To-day, there is still room for
building, in the Lake district; but there is no room
for any more suburban villas and artificial gardening.

The Romanticists, like most people who love things,
could not keep their hands off the scenery. They did
not understand that what they came to see was some-
thing already landscape-gardened by a long process;
not to be improved by their daubing on the picture.
They made grottoes, like Wordsworth's friend at
Yanwath, or sham antiques like the Druids' Circle on
Derwent Island. At Conishead Priory the Roman-
ticist owner built a bogus hermitage and kept a live
hermit in it, pensioned to pose before visitors.
It was a foible of the day. Horace Walpole had set
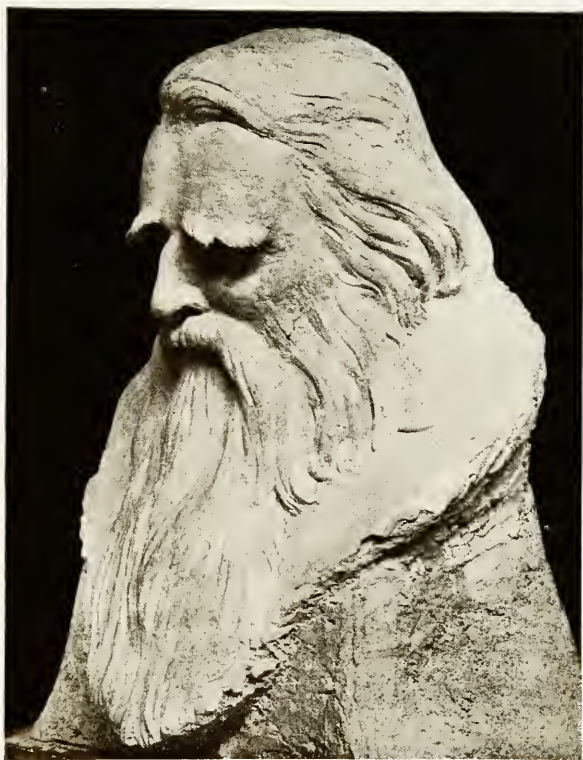
JOHN RUSKIN:

From a bust in the Coniston Museum by Barbara C. Collingwood,

Photo. by R G.C.   To face p. 166.

the example; and there are those who still follow it when they pull down old churches to make them Gothic.

A funny passage in Cockin's notes to West audaciously gives directions for improving the scenery with "columns, obelisks, temples, etc." and "properly formed summerhouses" which "should be octagonal, or at least have more than four sides," or else they ought to stand "on proper rustic arches, through which the sky could be seen." And not long since somebody recommended a viaduct on tall arches to adorn Windermere ferry.

When these strangers came in, many of them or their belongings were soon bored and wanted a little more excitement ; and so they turned the old rustic sports and merry-makings into something more theatrical. The first great regatta was held on Bassenthwaite lake in 1780: next year, and for some time afterwards, Derwentwater was the scene. They began with boat-races, continued with a great sham fight to capture the island with much explosion of gunpowder and French horns, and wound up with a ball. Our friend Clarke said, "This sport will at all times be viewed with rapture and astonishment." They evidently liked the noise "re-echoed eight or nine times" from the hills; and all the little lakeside inns kept brass cannon to repeat the evolution. The famous Windermere regatta, got up by Col. Bolton of Storrs to entertain Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Canning and the local poets, was as late as 1825, but in 1785 there was a hard frost, and Windermere was

frozen over; they held wrestling matches, in clogs, on the ice off Rawlinson Nab, roasted an ox whole and got beer and a band from Kendal.   And Professor Wilson's bull-hunting and—well, the district said he taught them Scotch drinking-habits, but that may be a libel—the rowdier side of sports, as they ran them a century ago, show how difficult it is to keep up Romanticism pure and simple, and to live by scenery alone, all the year round.

Some certainly did; chiefly those who brought their work with them and did not expect perpetual Elysium at the lakes, or came only for the holidays of a strenuous life.   On any other terms, life at the Lakes is not good for the soul.   Even the great Romanticists could not keep up sentiment at high pressure for long, and it is an old saying that " off-comes "—strangers to the district—stay seven years and then they are gone.

Wordsworth came to Dove Cottage in 1799 and did fine things until he moved to Allan Bank in 1808; at Rydal Mount, where he lived from 1813 to 1850 he was a respected celebrity rather than a contributor to the world's work.   Coleridge went to Keswick in 1800; rightly considered, he was father of Rock and Fell Climbers, for his descent of the Broad Stand on Scafell seems to be the first on record; and out of that experience, *plus* local colour from books, he wrote the " Hymn before Sunrise in the valley of Chamouni."   But his life at the lakes was not a happy one, nor was his son's, the poor "Lile Hartley," who died at Nab Cottage, Rydal, in 1849.   Southey

at Greta Hall, Keswick, from 1803 to 1843, kept himself going with hard work; how much of it permanently valuable is not our business here, but in his time it commanded the respect of many.

John Wilson from Paisley built his cottage at Elleray in 1808, and later, by amazing manipulation of patronage, became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh. He certainly kept his neighbours and the public lively, both with his athletic pranks, and with the vivacious writings of "Christopher North." He died in 1854; his poems are forgotten but not his personality. De Quincey, "the English Opium Eater" as he called himself, tenanted Dove Cottage from 1809 to 1834, with an interval (1821-1825) at Fox Ghyll; the curious will find details in Miss Armitt's *Rydal* (Wilson, Kendal, 1916). There were others who wrote or painted in the district during the first half of the last century, but none whose fame is secure. We might mention Elizabeth Smith, a very talented girl, who was brought to Coniston in 1801 and died in 1806; the interesting MS. of her translation of the Book of Job can be seen in the Coniston Museum. Charles Lloyd of Old Brathay was a writer better known as a friend of the poets. Mrs. Hemans only stayed for a few months in 1830 at Dove Nest near Low wood. William Smith and his wife (Lucy Cummings) lived at Bowness and at Keswick, and wrote prose and verse. Dr. Alexander Craig Gibson, a songster and story teller in dialect, was at Coniston and then at Hawkshead from about 1843 to 1857. John Richardson of St.

John's in the Vale (1817-1886), a true native, wrote in the Cumberland folk-speech verse that really portrays the Cumbrian peasant's mind. James Spedding of Mirehouse (1808-1881) was also a native, but of a very different stamp, the learned authority on Francis Bacon and his work. And not least, among many notable visitors, there lives in local memory Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who spent his holidays at Fox Howe from 1836 to 1842. His son Matthew Arnold and his granddaughter Mrs. Humphrey Ward have both illustrated the district in turn.

The years since the middle of last century hardly yet come into focus as history, or we might mention F. W. H. Myers the poet, born at Keswick in 1843; Eliza Lynn Linton the novelist, also a native of Keswick, who married W. J. Linton, the Chartist poet and engraver, of Brantwood, the house sold to Ruskin in 1871; and men lately lost, Frank Bramley, H. D. Rawnsley, and that fine artist Hubert Coutts. Even now the Romantic spirit is alive at the Lakes, anything but a lost cause; but it is not for us to compile the directory of local worthies, still less to discuss the quarrel between Romanticism and the Utilitarians. Our point is made if we have shown how much of the old-world charm still lingers here; how much there is worth keeping as a contribution to the enjoyment of scenery enhanced by memories of the past. Call it educational, if you will, or pure recreation, it is the peculiar gift which the Lake district offers—more valuable than even its water— to the great towns. And it can't go on giving both.

Towards the Romanticists' ideal of a people's park a good start has been made quite recently. Lord Leconfield gave the top of Scafell Pikes to the National Trust. Thence northwards the Fell and Rock Climbing Club added a fine group of summits, and southwards Mr. Gordon Wordsworth and Mr. A. C. Benson have dedicated Scafell itself to the public. But in the valleys among these heights and around them there is nothing to prevent new buildings and modern roads—in fact the destruction of all that little district's mountain character.

Whether a people's park is really wanted, the people must decide. A modest something of the sort is still possible in the western half of the Lake district. Next year, or the year after, we may not be able to say as much.

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